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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 28 September 1990, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. de MARCO (Malta)

later: Mr. SY (Senegal)
(Vice-President)

- Address by Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic
- Address by Mr. Borislav Jovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- Address by Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique
- Adoption of the agenda and allocation of items [8] (continued)

  Second report of the General Committee

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- General debate [9] (continued)

  Statement made by

  Mr. Mock (Austria)

- Programme of work

- General debate [9] (continued)

  Address by Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden

  Address by Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

  Statements made by

  Mr. Gujral (India)
  Mr. Adodo (Togo)

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL JUVENAL HABYARIMANA, PRESIDENT OF THE RWANDESE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Rwandese Republic.

Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Rwandese Republic, Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President HABYARIMANA (interpretation from French): It is a great honour for me and for the entire delegation of Rwanda to convey to you, Sir, our sincere and warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session.

Your election bears witness to the esteem in which you are held by the international community because of your outstanding personal qualities and your qualities as an experienced diplomat and, through you, this is a signal honour to your country, the Republic of Malta, which has always shown firm determination to contribute to a constant strengthening of relations of co-operation with all peace- and justice-loving countries. The Rwandese delegation at this session of the General Assembly wishes to assure you that it will make its modest contribution to ensuring the success of your noble task.

I also wish to express our deepest gratitude to your predecessor, who guided with confidence and wisdom the work of the forty-fourth session and the seventeenth and eighteenth special sessions of the General Assembly of our Organization, Mr. Joseph Garba, since he is indeed a worthy representative of his country, Nigeria, and of all of Africa.

(President Habyarimana)

I should also like to pay a most sincere tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who for nine years has shown skill, tireless will, foresight and a spirit of balance in carrying out the incredibly difficult and complex tasks entrusted to him. We wish him continuing success and we wish that every day he may further enhance the high esteem in which our Organization is held among nations.

Ten years have already passed since my first statement to this body, in 1980. I note with satisfaction that during that period certain political conflicts of deep concern to the international community have developed along most favourable lines. Let me express on behalf of the delegation of Rwanda and on my own behalf our great joy at seeing the delegation of an independent Namibia among us. It is thanks to the outstanding leadership of President Sam Nujoma that the Namibian people was able - after three decades of armed struggle - to accede to the independence and the liberation of its country. My country, Rwanda, was delighted to welcome the admission of Namibia to the great family of the United Nations on 23 April 1990.

I wish to take this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to the Government and the people of Namibia, who are now engaged in the most difficult but commendable task of national reconstruction.

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(President Habyarimana)

The Rwandese Republic has always encouraged and supported all initiatives aimed at the reunification of the German nation and heartily endorses the positive developments concerning that issue. In this regard, the Rwandese Government and people welcomed with great joy the news of the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, which took place that memorable night of 9-10 November 1989, marking the end of an unacceptable split the German people had been experiencing for more than 40 years.

On 3 October 1990, the German people will solemnly and joyfully celebrate their reunification, which has been particularly helped along by the events which have wrought such changes in Eastern Europe. It was with great satisfaction that the Rwandese Government welcomed the reunification agreement signed 31 August 1990, a sovereign decision reflecting the firm will of the German people to pool their efforts to build a more prosperous nation, a nation still further strengthened in its desire to build a better world.

I reaffirm Rwanda's steadfast support for German reunification, and I most sincerely hope that all other nations rent by division will, like the German people, firmly commit themselves to follow this happy course in order quickly to put an end to their tragic situations.

It is in that spirit that the Rwandese Republic greatly appreciates and supports efforts designed to promote the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation.

Rwanda equally encourages the pursuit of direct negotiations, conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on the question of Cyprus. I am convinced that the solution to this problem must be found within the framework of the application of universal principles enshrining respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States.

(President Habyarimana)

These two positive events, namely, the independence of Namibia and the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, of which the entire international community is proud, are the result of détente between East and West. Indeed, the end of the ideological struggle between the two super-Powers has allowed for the birth of a new era of democracy and freedom throughout the world, and in particular in the countries of Eastern Europe. We hope that the peace dividends will be converted into tools for the socio-economic development of the most disadvantaged countries.

It is my duty, in addition, to emphasize that Rwanda firmly supports the negotiations begun between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South African Government, designed fully to dismantle the horrendous apartheid system, which has always been deplored from this rostrum. Given the tangible progress and courageous concessions made on all sides, there are grounds for hope that South Africa will very soon see the advent of an era of multiracial democracy.

A plethora of old and new conflicts are striking various regions of the globe, with most of them concentrated in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We commend and support all efforts - bilateral, multilateral or international - aimed at putting an end to these devastating and economically painful rifts.

Despite the positive results around the globe and the tireless efforts of the United Nations through its Secretary-General, one notes, unfortunately, that the international community has not yet solved all its problems, and certain new conflicts are darkening the backdrop of the international political scene.

Indeed, the international community is now faced with a new conflict, born in the Persian Gulf, between Iraq and Kuwait, which has turned into an international crisis.

Thus, defying all conventions governing international relations, Iraq invaded Kuwait on the night of 1 August 1990 and later declared its annexation.

(President Habyarimana)

Rwanda believes that this invasion represents a glaring violation of peaceful coexistence and respect for the sovereignty of all States. It is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations which, in paragraph 4 of Article 2, states:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

Rwanda therefore energetically condemns this invasion and supports all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, in particular those demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, declaring Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void and imposing economic sanctions against Iraq with a view to putting an end to its territorial ambitions. We believe that only dialogue can avoid the futile bloodbath that would arise as a result of armed confrontation between the forces now in the Persian Gulf.

Moreover, Rwanda believes that the crisis in the Persian Gulf should not make us forget the Palestinian problem, which has been with us for more than 40 years.

In this tragedy in the Gulf, caused by behaviour attributable to another age, one cannot but note the extent to which the moral authority of the Organization has been strengthened thanks to the spirit of solidarity, a harbinger of hope for the future.

The fragile situation in Liberia remains most alarming, since it is characterized by an inter-ethnic fratricidal war and by the total deterioration of the political and administrative structure. We therefore approve the measures taken by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to put an end to this tragic situation. Like the efforts made by the international community to settle the crisis in the Persian Gulf, we believe that it should mobilize all necessary resources in order rapidly to resolve this tragic crisis in Liberia.

(President Habyarimana)

At a time when we note the improvement in international relations and the prevailing climate of détente, we are unfortunately obliged to recall that the international economic situation does not at all lend itself to optimism, given the structural crisis which continues to exacerbate the already very deep gap between the industrialized and developing countries.

(President Habyarimana)

The international community must do its utmost to transform into a more equitable and balanced order the current unjust international economic order, which is characterized by structural imbalances. It must prevent the tragedies inherent in poverty, which today, near the end of our century, is still the world's major problem, and make still more vigorous and determined efforts to halt the conflicts and tensions existing among peoples and States. The Government of Rwanda continues to support efforts aimed at reactivating the North-South dialogue and strengthening South-South co-operation.

Africa remains that continent where problems of underdevelopment are raised in terms of great human anguish and where the economic prospects of most countries which are in the category of least developed countries are gloomy indeed, particularly for those, such as Rwanda, which are facing various structural handicaps that are exacerbated by numerous current economic conditions. Indeed, those countries, the most disadvantaged on our planet, are helplessly watching an accelerated deterioration of the living conditions of their people, who are increasingly becoming prey to the scourges of poverty, famine, malnutrition and ignorance.

Rwanda, which has suffered along with its African peers, once again appeals to the international community for greater solidarity and more effective mutual understanding, given the problems battering the African continent. Among these familiar problems, we should note those which most severely affect the economies of our countries, namely, the crucial problem of foreign debt, the collapse of raw-materials prices, the deterioration of terms of trade and the decline in public assistance for development.

Indebtedness is a problem causing grave concern to the so-called developing countries in general and to the African countries in particular. Foreign debt is,

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in fact, a heavy burden, a bottle-neck in the development process, since it has the negative effect of reinforcing the combination of factors which diminish the capacity for repayment while the imbalances in international trade grow worse. We urgently request that the search for solutions to the economic crisis of the third world in general, and of Africa in particular, should mobilize all the intellectual and moral resources required and take into account all aspects of the problem, without forgetting or overlooking the social aspects, for it is peoples, more than States, that must remain the major beneficiaries of the remedial measures to be advocated.

An effective programme of economic recovery and growth must be concerned with rewarding the management and economic-recovery efforts made by countries, instead of merely being limited to prescribing immediate miracle-working recipes. The experience of several sub-Saharan countries in this sphere shows us that it is important to establish programmes that are suited to the realities and specific conditions of each country and, above all, are drawn up with the assistance of the recipient countries and populations. While it is true that the recovery of the world economy requires joint international action, it is even more true that the drastic measures sometime conceived in abstracto and imposed on the developing countries entail an extremely high economic, social and political cost. Those programmes, which often give solvency priority over all else, have created extremely difficult and often socially unacceptable situations, and have always led to an irresistible process of further indebtedness whose price future generations will have to pay.

But we must also recognize that the revitalization of our economies, a revival of exports, the growth and consolidation of the private sector, the reduction of public expenditure and the infusions of currency necessary for importing cannot

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take place in the present critical situation of the economies of the third world without assistance from fresh currency sources. For that reason, given the real economic difficulties which have become crushing, especially during the last two years, Rwanda began discussions in 1989 with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank on the key ideas for a programme of economic recovery and growth. A programme adapted to the realities and the needs of my country will soon be signed.

Allow me to say a few words about the difficult question of the environment. Rwanda believes that the entire international community is involved in this matter and that a surge of international solidarity is required to mobilize all resources needed to preserve a healthful and viable environment for the human race.

Everyone recognizes that ecological problems have now become matters of global concern, but there are still differences of opinion concerning the causes and responsibilities involved in the deterioration and the protection of the environment and concerning the measures to be taken in that area.

In the countries of the third world underdevelopment, poverty, misery and ignorance are the major causes of environmental deterioration, whereas in industrialized countries that deterioration is due to their patterns of consumption and production. Therefore there is reason to hope that these positions will be harmonized in the context of preparations now under way for the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development.

The Rwandese Republic voices the hope that in the critical area of the environment the international community will be able to close ranks and mobilize the intellectual and technical resources required to find solutions that will guarantee the survival of our planet.

(President Habyarimana)

For its part, Rwanda, which has made the preservation of the environment one of its major priorities within the framework of its policy of food self-sufficiency, has undertaken significant actions in this area, such as the national campaign against erosion, the national reforestation effort and the national environmental strategy, to give only a few examples. The road is still long, of course, for a great deal remains to be done. This is why we are counting on international co-operation to meet the environmental challenges our country is encountering.

My country, Rwanda, attaches particular importance to the preservation of its natural heritage and to environmental protection. The strengthening and maintenance of ecological balance require us to demonstrate further concern, day by day, for our national parks, our rivers, our lakes, our natural preserves, our forests, our habitat - in a word, for all the elements which make up our environment.

(President Habyarimana)

Turning to the important question of democracy, a key element for generating peace and development, I should like to explain my country's objectives to the General Assembly. Since the beginning of 1989, well before the political upheavals in Eastern Europe, Rwanda has been giving careful consideration to updating its political system. First on the agenda is the formulation of a new political manifesto, a national political charter redefining and setting forth in depth the new democratic rules as devised by the people of Rwanda and guaranteeing respect for democratic process and national cohesion.

In the long term we shall also be reviewing our 1978 Constitution to establish a clear separation of powers and, above all, to enshrine the supremacy of the State over any political oraganization. A wide-ranging national dialogue will enable all the active forces of the Rwandan nation to state their position on all aspects of today's political issues.

No less important than the problems I have already mentioned is that of my compatriots living outside Rwanda. As I have repeatedly said, the question of Rwandese refugees is primarily the responsibility of the Government and the people of Rwanda. However, in the light of its well-known problems, including those due to the small size of its territory and its population, Rwanda cannot by itself resolve this thorny and painful problem. We renew our appeal to the international community to find a lasting solution along three lines: voluntary repatriation; naturalization in the host country, also voluntary; and freedom of residence.

My country welcomes the first World Summit for Children, which was held this weekend. I personally hail that initiative and congratulate the United Nations and, especially, the United Nations Children's Fund, on having brought it about.

We all love our children. In Rwanda's philosophy of development and of the vital essence that gives us life and hope, children hold a central place, as they

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do in Bantu philosophy. Children have always been our raison d'être and our highest and most important value.

As we see it, therefore, the advancement of the child is everything. It is related to basic medical care, the protection of mothers, the emancipation of women and economic security. It is related to family planning, access to essential services such as water, health, education, decent housing and self-sufficiency in food. It is also related to the defence of all recognized rights of the child as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In that context, Rwanda felt in duty bound to ratify that Convention immediately.

Despite my Government's undeniable efforts, supported by the international community, and the genuine successes we have had thus far, Rwanda's situation with respect to the advancement of the child remains precarious. That is primarily because of the pressures of population density - amounting in some places to more than 1,000 people per square kilometre - on our agricultural resources. With unpredictable weather, this threatens, despite all our efforts, to push us ever closer to a permanent food shortage, which will, of course, affect the health of our children first and foremost.

It remains precarious also because Rwanda and the great majority of other African countries cannot but feel the ill effects of our depressing economic situation and of the ceaseless succession of crises, each one worse than the last. In a flash these sweep away as much as three quarters of our export earnings, and thus of the resources we need to plan our development.

The Declaration and Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children must address some of the fundamental constraints that violently block the thorough and lasting amelioration of our children's lives. Otherwise we risk missing the core of the problem that ought to be the subject of that historic summit.

(President Habyarimana)

Those are the points I wanted to cover today. In conclusion, I reaffirm that the Rwandese Republic acknowledges the irreplaceable role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and justice and in the fight for solidarity and a better life for all the world's peoples. The people of Rwanda will never cease its support of the Organization's quest for lasting solutions to the problems of our day.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Rwandese Republic for the important statement he has just made.

Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. BORISLAV JOVIC, PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Borislav Jovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, His Excellency Mr. Borislav Jovic, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

President JOVIC (spoke in Serbo-Croatian; English text furnished by the delegation): It gives me distinct pleasure to see a representative of Malta presiding over this year's session of the United Nations General Assembly. I should also like to express our sincere appreciation to Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria for his successful presidency during the forty-fourth session.

I should like to welcome the new Member of the United Nations, the Principality of Liechtenstein.

We all owe special appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who continues to make an all-round contribution to the efforts being made by the United Nations to solve the most topical world problems.

The decades at the end of the twentieth century will be recorded in history as years of historic transformation in the relations between States and peoples as well as of social, political and economic changes in many countries.

Relations in today's world are characterized by substantially intensified co-operation and dialogue between the two super-Powers, by a new structure in Europe and the continent's growth into a single political and economic space and

(President Jovic)

by processes of regional integration in other parts of the world as well. Economic, financial and technological potential and interests are becoming the new foundations for co-operation. However, such positive developments do not preclude uncertainties and the possibility of retrogressive trends. The dangers of local and regional conflicts, as attested to by the recent Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, have not yet been averted.

We are convinced that prospects for building a new, more balanced and democratic system of international relations have been opened up and that this will be a long-term trend in the world's development.

As a member of the international community Yugoslavia is vitally interested in seeing these positive processes gain momentum, encompass all fields of international relations and all parts of the world and bring equal prosperity and wellbeing to all nations of the world. However, the attainment of that objective is still far away, for we live in a world encumbered by the legacy of an epoch we hope we have definitely left behind.

Inspired by that goal and desirous of contributing to its realization, Yugoslavia opted for the policy of non-alignment and has for three decades been working actively in the international field with a large group of States, the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Since the ninth Summit Conference of countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Belgrade in 1989, Yugoslavia, as its Chairman, has been seeking to make the Movement's activities responsive to the profound and rapid changes taking place in the world.

Through contacts with the most important factors in the world advocating international dialogue and co-operation Yugoslavia has been urging all elements of the international community to take up the key challenge confronting mankind - namely, the solution of problems of development, from which flow all the other

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challenges before us, from the ecological to the health and social problems of the developing countries, which still constitute two thirds of the world.

The spectacular improvement in international relations and the overall international climate, as well as the elimination of global confrontations between the super-Powers and blocs, cannot conceal the difficult economic position of and grave conflict situations in many developing countries. The prerequisite for a tranquil and stable world is to complement the East-West political détente with an economic and social one between North and South.

We believe that owing to its nature and history, as well as to its ability to bring together and co-ordinate global and regional interests, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is in a position to play a significant role in creating a new balance in the world which would have a decisive effect on international developments in the coming years and over a longer period, and in which all influential and concerned elements would find their own interest.

There is no doubt that Europe, the continent of which Yugoslavia is a part, is currently undergoing profound changes. In the past year substantive democratic changes have taken place there. Their protagonists are the people - man as a free and creative agent. A new and different Europe is being shaped before our very eyes, but its future is not without uncertainties. As one example, there is the disturbing growth of extreme forms of nationalism and intolerance, from which hardly a single area of Europe is immune. Or let us take the disproportionate level of development of certain areas of the continent, which threatens to replace the outmoded system of blocs with a new system that is longer-lasting and more difficult to surmount. The solution of such problems is imperative if we are to create a truly united and stable Europe in which no one feels himself the citizen of a second-rate nation.

(President Jovic)

Stability in Europe can be attained only if the principle of the integrity and sovereignty of States is consistently observed. Today, regrettably, the General Assembly of the United Nations witnessed a flagrant attack by the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of my country. Openly - before this Assembly and before the entire world public - he called for the establishment of yet another Albanian State, this time on the territory of Yugoslavia. It is very important for the international public that he openly and publicly presented that which had long been concealed in Albania's policy towards Yugoslavia. The General Assembly is fully aware of the fact that nowhere in the world - in not a single State - do national minorities have the right to establish a State of their own and to secede. Such an unrealizable intention of Albanian separatists is the reason for all their conflicts with the authorities in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia, which are unjustifiably referred to as threats to human rights.

Yugoslavia would be satisfied if Albania were to ensure that the Yugoslav national minorities living in Albania were given those rights that the Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoy.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) has become an even more comprehensive process and an essential factor in the development of a new European architecture. With the creation of a new system of relations in Europe, it is only natural that the CSCE, as the sole all-European democratic forum, should be the framework for the development of all forms of co-operation and new ties in Europe. There is no doubt that the neutral and non-aligned countries will, as always, make a constructive contribution to this process.

As an open country and an active member of the international community, Yugoslavia is also going through a period of deepest change in its own internal

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socio-political development. The introduction of political pluralism, a multi-party system and free elections on that basis has been accompanied by instability, which, to a significant extent, is a consequence of democratization and the country's multinational nature.

Also, before many others did so, we had opted to seek solutions to our own development problems through a market-economy mechanism. We are aware of the fact that the movement towards a free market is bound to give rise to acute social and other problems. That, in a way, characterizes present-day developments in Yugoslavia. However, we are convinced that we are on the right track and that the reforms that are under way in Yugoslavia will continue to meet with the support and understanding of the broadest spectrum of countries.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my country's deepest concern over the further dangerous aggravation of the crisis in the Gulf, which was caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In its own right, and as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Yugoslavia once again most resolutely condemns the act of aggression against, and the annexation of, Kuwait, which it considers to be null and void; reaffirms its full support for the legitimate Government of Kuwait; and most resolutely calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from the territory of Kuwait, for respect for that country's sovereignty, and for the re-establishment of its territorial integrity, which remains the only way of resolving the crisis.

The latest events in the Gulf region have once again confirmed that the United Nations is the proper forum for finding ways out of critical situations in international relations. We advocate the consistent implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, as well as further consultations, within the United Nations, on all measures aimed at the prevention of an escalation. Therefore we believe that action on the part of the international community, including the

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placing of military forces in the Gulf, should be taken with the utmost discipline and responsibility. I am certain that it is in the interests of the entire international community that war be prevented - the consequences of war are unforeseeable - and that the state of affairs that existed prior to the invasion of Kuwait be restored. We welcome all processes aimed at the initiation of a political solution to the crisis, and we are ready to participate in them.

The events in the Gulf region attest once again to the closest interrelationship between political and economic factors. This crisis and the uncertainties that it has created pose a serious threat to the economies of many countries, Yugoslavia included, as well as to the world economy as a whole. Such an unexpected upheaval in the world economy has increased the existing, already-chronic, difficulties resulting from excessive external debt, falls in raw-material prices, hampered exports, protectionism, lack of capital, and so on.

Regrettably, this has happened at precisely the time when developing countries, particularly the highly indebted and least developed ones, have been making enormous efforts, through reforms, coupled with great sacrifices, as well as social and political tensions, to steer their economies towards growth and development.

Therefore it is up to all countries - both the developed and the underdeveloped ones - as well as competent international institutions, primarily the United Nations, to take appropriate measures to ward off the extremely adverse consequences that there could be for international economic co-operation and development.

This situation is further aggravated by persistent trouble spots in other parts of the world - the Middle East crisis being one of the most serious. We must

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not lose sight of the fact that this is one of the most protracted world crises. It continues to be a source of tension and is permanently the focus of attention. The stalemate in the Middle East stands in contrast to the positive trends in international relations generally.

Any solution to this crisis must include the full realization of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to a State of their own and the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 1967, as well as guarantees of peace and security for all countries of the region within internationally recognized boundaries. Obviously the best way to attain this goal would be to convene an international conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1969) and 338 (1973) - a proposal that was unanimously approved by the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries at their Ninth Conference.

I believe that it is with a feeling of shared success that we welcome to the General Assembly a new full-fledged member - the sovereign and independent Republic of Namibia. Major changes are under way in southern Africa. We hope that we have reached a stage when the elimination of apartheid - a shameful system of discrimination - is just a matter of time. The immediate and lasting abolition of apartheid should be our common priority.

We particularly support the current processes aimed at settling the Kampuchean problem. We also believe that acceptable solutions should be found, as soon as possible, to the issues of Cyprus, Western Sahara and Afghanistan, as well as that of the peaceful unification of Korea.

(President Jovic)

I feel that I express the views of the majority when I say that action to deal with new global problems, such as those related to drugs, the environment and child care, should be the focus of attention of the international community.

Representatives are aware of the fact that child care will be on the agenda of the Summit that begins tomorrow. Yugoslavia unreservedly supports the noble and humane objectives of this top-level gathering.

In today's world of growing interdependence between States and peoples, the universal value of human rights and their all-round importance for assessing the acceptability of a country's policies have been reaffirmed in very strong terms.

Yugoslavia believes that the degree to which an individual enjoys these rights and fundamental freedoms is a yardstick for measuring the extent of democratization in a society and its capacities to take part in wide democratic processes taking place in the world.

(President Jovic)

We share the growing conviction that it is necessary fully to observe human rights and freedoms, both collective and individual, mindful of the fact that civil and political rights cannot be separated from economic and social ones.

The positive changes in East-West relations have contributed to the weakening or elimination of the last strongholds of resistance to accepting international standards in the field of human rights, including the rights of minorities. The rule is being affirmed that human rights and civil liberties are not only general values, but also an obligation and a criterion for evaluating the nature and achievements of any social system.

Gone are the times when the big Powers and blocs shunned the United Nations or treated the General Assembly as a propaganda platform rather than as a forum for resolving the principal international problems. Given some of the reforms carried in the United Nations itself, especially in addressing the financial crisis, and even more so the possibilities of revitalization as a consequence of the negotiations and agreements reached between the super-Powers and the more favourable climate in international relations in general, new prospects are being opened up concerning the effectiveness of this world Organization.

The times have changed indeed. So has the Movement of non-aligned countries, and so have its possibilities. Over a long period of time, in parallel with the struggle for the emancipation of countries and peoples, with efforts aimed at restructuring world relations and imbuing them with a spirit of partnership, solidarity and co-operation, the Movement also constantly opposed bloc polarization. The non-aligned consider the favourable developments taking place in the present-day world to be the fulfilment of their own objectives as well, to a large extent. The preconditions have been met for further, positive evolution.

(President Jovic)

May I, as Chairman of the Movement, briefly point out the areas in which fulfilment of these preconditions should and must be encouraged?

First of all, in the general international climate: the events taking place in Europe and also global developments indicate that a new world order is being ushered in, in a major way, one in which there are no enemies or rivals, but only competitors and partners.

Secondly, in the economic and social sphere, in which the existing discrepancies cannot remain unaddressed: it is not only that these discrepancies generate new tensions which could pull us all backwards, but also that they prevent a new quality of life - ranging from human rights to environmental protection - from prevailing at a global level.

Thirdly, in dealing with world crises along the lines we mentioned, we should encourage the parallel strengthening of confidence-building measures, negotiating and control mechanisms within the United Nations, as well as all other forms of multilateral organization inspired by the Charter of this world Organization.

Lastly, but perhaps most important: fulfilment of these preconditions must be encouraged within the United Nations itself. This finest hour that it is experiencing, for the first time since the days of the cold war and for the first time in post-war history, means that the United Nations is becoming a place in which issues are being resolved and in which they can indeed be resolved: this is not only the vision of the founders come true, but also a great obligation on all of us. If the United Nations has finally assumed its proper role, then it is capable of being both a peacemaker and a strong instrument of collective security, which implies that, in each and every member country, the game should have new, democratic rules and that all should have economic prosperity and political stability.

(President Jovic)

In the process of pursuing all these objectives, the Movement of non-aligned countries is prepared to work even harder as a factor in world reintegration and in the further emancipation of individuals and nations.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Borisav Jovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOAQUIM ALBERTO CHISSANO, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President CHISSANO: It is with pleasure and satisfaction that, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, I congratulate His Excellency Mr. Guido de Marco on his unanimous election to the presidency of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We wish you, Sir, much success in fulfilling your important functions. Your election to this important office demonstrates the great prestige that your country, Malta, enjoys in the international community and the trust we all place in you and in your outstanding qualities. We are sure that under your leadership the deliberations of this session will have a successful outcome. We stand ready to co-operate with you and give you all the support within our power towards the successful attainment of this objective.

I should also like to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Joseph Garba, the satisfaction and appreciation of the Mozambican delegation for the able manner in which he presided over the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, as well as over the special sessions that took place during his mandate.

(President Chissano)

Our renewed congratulations go to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, on his creativity and dynamic leadership and on his commitment to the search for an adequate solution to the various problems threatening peace, progress, development and the welfare of all peoples.

(President Chissano)

An event of transcendent importance marked the period that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly: the independence of Namibia. It was with joy and emotion that we witnessed the assumption of the reins of sovereignty and self-determination by the people of the sister nation of Namibia. The accession to independence of that African country was the culmination of a long and heroic march of resistance and struggle by the people of Namibia against the colonial occupation. It was a victory for all mankind: the corollary and the final outcome of decades of joint effort on the part of the people of Namibia and of all peace-loving forces. It marked the downfall of the last stronghold of colonialism on the African continent.

I associate myself with the previous speakers in extending a special welcome to the delegation of independent Namibia. The independence of Namibia has widened the frontiers of freedom and strengthened the community of free and sovereign nations in the world. We welcome as well the admission of the Principality of Liechtenstein as the 160th Member of our Organization. The accession of that Principality to the United Nations makes our family stronger and constitutes a further step towards wider universality of our Organization.

The forty-fifth session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time of both hope and apprehension for our planet. While, on the one hand, we witness with joy and satisfaction the dawn of an era of openness, interdependence and co-operation among nations, and are happy to see a reinforcement of democratic practices in various parts of the world, on the other, we are also witnessing the emergence, with the unusual vehemence, of unacceptable attitudes and behaviour, which create dangerous pockets of tension and threaten the fragile achievements so far made by mankind towards relaxation and disarmament.

(President Chissano)

At a time when peace efforts have become a driving force shared by all of us, and when dialogue is given important weight in the solution of the world's conflicts, the explosive situation that has arisen in the Gulf is of great concern to us. Serious events, whose catastrophic consequences are already being felt in each one of our countries, are taking place in the region. The invasion, occupation and annexation of Kuwait are unacceptable. We demand respect for the norms of international law and the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty. We urge that a peaceful platform be found to put an end to the spectre of war that hangs over the region, in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

As to the problem in the Middle East, we realize that the rights of the Palestinian people continue to be violated. We reiterate our belief in the need for the convening of an international conference with the participation of all the concerned parties including the State of Palestine.

We feel encouraged by the progress achieved towards a peaceful solution to the conflict in Kampuchea. We strongly believe that the United Nations could play a vital role in the solution of this problem.

In East Timor, the Maubere people continue to be deprived of their right to independence and self-determination. We encourage the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts towards the achievement of an acceptable solution to this problem, which must necessarily be based on respect for the fundamental rights of the people of East Timor.

With respect to the question of Western Sahara, we welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General with a view to a peaceful and definitive solution to this conflict, and we encourage him to pursue this effort without hesitation.

(President Chissano)

In the Korean peninsula, we encourage the current efforts being made towards a peaceful reunification of the Korean nation. The high-level meetings recently held between the two Koreas constitute a positive step in this direction.

In the period under consideration, Europe has witnessed far-reaching political and economic developments, of which it is worth pointing out the changes in Eastern Europe and the agreement on German reunification.

In southern Africa, we are encouraged by the decisions taken by the Government of President De Klerk in South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela, the historic leader of the South African people, and that of some of his compatriots, as well as the legalization of all South African political and democratic organizations that had been banned until then, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the preliminary talks between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC), open up new horizons in the history of South African politics.

Those changes, which are the result of the sacrifice and relentless struggle of the South African people, of Africa and of the international community as a whole are the harbingers of hope in a more stable, peaceful and promising future for the development of southern Africa. We await with hope the beginning of constitutional negotiations among the South African authorities, the ANC and other South African democratic forces. It continues to be necessary for the international community to play a crucial role in the efforts for the eradication of the apartheid system within the framework of the premises contained in the Declaration, adopted at the sixteenth special session, on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

We urge President De Klerk and his Government to pursue with courage and determination the path they have embarked upon.

(President Chissano)

Mozambique will continue to contribute in whatever manner may be necessary to guarantee the success of this great and lofty undertaking. However, we note with great concern the wave of violence that has been occurring in South Africa recently. We praise the maturity and the sense of responsibility shown by the ANC in the person of its Vice-President, Nelson Mandela, in trying to put an end to this violence.

We point out the inherent danger of the extremist attitudes of those who want at all costs to perpetuate the system of apartheid. We urge the South African Government to commit itself forcefully to the elimination of the causes behind this climate of tension.

In Angola, we acknowledge with satisfaction the steps undertaken by the Government through peaceful means to put an end to the war that is devastating our sisterly nation. Those efforts should be supported by the international community, so that they may lead to peace and national harmony.

(President Chissano)

In Mozambique, our country, the end of the war and a return to tranquillity and to a normal life for all Mozambicans, constitute the chief priority of our Government and of the FRELIMO Party. The senseless war of sabotage and destruction that still ravages our country, continues to take its toll in human lives and to cause enormous damage to property. As a direct result of this indiscriminate destruction carried out by RENAMO, thousands of Mozambicans have been displaced, both within and outside their country, deprived of their possessions, reduced to extreme poverty, and are surviving only thanks to the generous assistance of their countrymen and of the international community. The economic and social emergency we are experiencing in our country is just one of the dramatic facets of the consequences of this unjustified war. Schools, kindergartens, health centres and a number of economic infrastructures have been destroyed, leaving hundreds of thousands of people without access to education and health care facilities.

Despite its positive results, the economic recovery programme begun in 1987, with broad support from the international community, is confronted with the negative effects of continued acts of destabilization, which hinder its full implementation, especially in the rural areas. Efforts by the Government, with the support of the international community, to save the lives of millions of Mozambicans in an emergency situation have been hampered by RENAMO armed action against populations and against economic and social targets. Our commitment to defend our country does not prevent the Government from seeking peaceful ways of putting an end to the war, as we believe that everything should be done to bring about an honourable and dignifying peace in our country.

We have had an opportunity in the past to inform the international community about the principles set by the Government as a basis for the dialogue with RENAMO and about the indirect contacts we had undertaken, with the support of the mediators, with a view to creating a climate conducive to direct dialogue. Today,

(President Chissano)

we are in aposition to inform the Assembly that, thanks to the endeavours of the mediators, friendly Governments and people of good will, the direct dialogue between the Government and RENAMO has started in Rome. There have already been two rounds of talks. Respect for sovereignty, constitutional order and democracy in the People's Republic of Mozambique constitute the major premises upon which the current dialogue is based.

Through this dialogue, the Government seeks to achieve the cessation of violence, the restoration of peace throughout the country and national reconciliation. We want a genuine and lasting peace, a peace built upon national unity and stability. We seek a peace which upholds our national interests, a peace brought about by Mozambicans for the benefit of the Mozambican people.

In spite of these significant efforts, RENAMO continues to use delaying tactics, thus protracting the negotiations. Such manoeuvres do not serve the supreme interests of the Mozambican nation and serve only to prolong unnecessarily the suffering of our people.

The Government continues, however, to be committed to pursue direct dialogue and to surmount any real obstacles it may encounter along the way. We are prepared to discuss any issue of substance that may bring us to the fulfilment of the just expectations of our people.

There is no valid reason for the continuation of the war in Mozambique. In spite of the war situation prevailing in the country, the FRELIMO Party has spared no effort in its attempt to find better ways of organizing Mozambican society and ensuring the people's real and effective participation in formulating and deciding on the destiny of the nation. It was in the light of this that the debate on the draft amended Constitution was concluded last July. This debate allowed for the people to express their views on the future of the country. Millions of Mozambicans, including Mozambican communities abroad, aired their views in a spirit

(President Chissano)

of unity, openness and frankness, with dignity, pride and patriotism, on the issues of national interest. The people also expressed their views on the nature of the political system they want to see established in the country.

An analysis of the contributions made in the course of the discussion enables us to grasp and portray the interests and aspirations of the people at the present stage. In addition, it has enabled us to opt for a multiparty political system in our country and for the formulation of the various national policies which are contained in the draft Constitution that is to be submitted within a few days to the people's Assembly for adoption. The endorsement of the new Constitution will be followed by presidential and legislative elections through direct universal suffrage in 1991. The introduction of the multiparty political system in Mozambique is subject to the observance of certain criteria which shall be subjected to a specific law to be passed in due course by the people's Assembly. Such criteria stipulate inter alia that no political party shall be constituted on the basis of tribe, race, religion or other factors likely to undermine national unity or lead to the fragmentation of Mozambican society. They further stipulate that the parties shall defend national interests and the independence and sovereignty of the Mozambican State.

While recommending the introduction of the multiparty system in the country, the FRELIMO Party is aware of the fact that the multiparty system per se does not necessarily mean democracy. According to our understanding, democracy implies the participation of the people in the mapping out of decisions on the destiny of the nation and in the exercise of sovereignty by the people.

The current climate of détente and dialogue, together with the increasing political changes occurring in the world and the growing consensus on the policies to be adopted for development strategies, calls for the greater democratization of

(President Chissano)

international economic relations, which will allow the countries of the South to benefit from advances in science and the new technologies for the progress and prosperity of all peoples of the world.

(President Chissano)

We recognize that, although solutions have been progressively found to political conflicts, the handling of matters related to the problems of development, which are pervasive in the majority of our countries, is hindered by a considerable degree of apathy and sluggishness.

The structural changes occurring in the world economic system, as well as the increasing interdependence which results therefrom, should create new opportunities for encouraging economic growth in the developing countries, instead of widening the gap that separates them from industrialized countries.

We are aware of the responsibility that we should shoulder as the main players in the development processes of our own countries. We would call for greater understanding and sensitivity to the nature of the difficulties that form a stumbling-block to our development. It is urgent that the flow of capital for development be increased and made available in such a way as to permit the financial and material means to be applied for expansion, diversification and modernization of the productive sectors of the economy.

We would like to seize this opportunity to welcome the report of the South Commission, whose release has recently been announced by its Chairman, His Excellency Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. This report, in view of its in-depth analysis of the economic situation in the developing countries and its recommendations, constitutes a valuable contribution not just to the problems confronting the developing countries but also to the improvement in North-South relations.

We urge the States Members of this Organization jointly to work out ways and means of implementing the guidelines of this report.

The foreign debt crisis remains one of the main obstacles to our economic growth and development. It is extremely important that a constructive dialogue

(President Chissano)

between debtors and creditors be established, with a view to finding definitive solutions to the problem. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the various creditor countries which took concrete measures to alleviate the debt burden of Mozambique and that of some other countries with great economic difficulties.

Another challenge faced by the international community is the problem of protection of the environment. Here too the future of mankind is in our hands. We urge everyone to be fully involved in the preparations of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in 1992.

In a few days the international community will witness an unparalleled event, the summit for children. The presence of many Heads of State and Government and illustrious dignitaries at this meeting is a testimony to our common willingness to join forces in the search for solutions to the problems that threaten the future of the coming generations.

We have the responsibility to create a future of harmony and peace for our children, who are the citizens of tomorrow. Children are a source of inspiration to us and a prime challenge to our actions; they should be offered something rare in our generation, that is, peace, stability, harmony and development.

We believe that this summit will strengthen our determination to preserve the current trend in international relations by defending the lofty ideals which presided over the birth of our Organization.

We are pleased to note the trend in present international relations, the revitalization of the role of the United Nations that makes it the centre around which solutions are sought to the serious problems affecting mankind, such as regional conflicts and wars.

Our Organization assumes a universal dimension today. This dimension,

(President Chissano)

however, cannot just be measured through the rise in the number of its Members, but also, and mainly, in accordance with the extent to which the values, principles and objectives it pursues are universally upheld.

Co-operation, solidarity and the new emerging consensus at the international level constitute the most eloquent example of this. It is our understanding that this new trend in international relations should not be an instrument for the management of selected crises, but a systematic policy to confront the countless challenges in the world, namely, underdevelopment, poverty, endemic diseases, AIDS, drugs and environmental problems, to name just a few.

We would like to conclude by reiterating our confidence in the ability of the United Nations successfully to face these challenges. It remains the most privileged forum for the solution of the economic and social development problems of peoples and for the promotion of international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ALLOCATION OF ITEMS

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/45/250/Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I now draw the attention of representatives to the second report of the General Committee, which was circulated as document A/45/250/Add.1 in the General Assembly Hall this morning.

The report concerns the request by Belize for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item, entitled "Electoral assistance to Haiti".

(The President)

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item should be included in the agenda.

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include in its agenda the additional item, entitled "Electoral assistance to Haiti"?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The General Committee also decided to recommend to the Assembly that this item should be considered directly in the plenary Assembly.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it also that the Assembly decides that the item should be considered with priority because of its urgent character?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MOCK (Austria) (interpretation from French): I am pleased, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I am certain that under your able leadership the Assembly will be most efficient in its important deliberations. The Republic of Malta has shown the international community that a small country can make an effective contribution to international co-operation.

I wish also to convey my sincere appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Joseph Garba, former Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations. He led our deliberations skilfully during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

Let me pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, whose devotion and outstanding service have made a significant contribution to the new esteem the United Nations enjoys and to the growing role of multilateral diplomacy. These advances are particularly important in the light of the regional crises and world-wide challenges we face today.

We take great pleasure in welcoming Namibia for the first time to a regular session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

We also a warmly welcome to the Assembly the Principality of Liechtenstein, with which Austria has bonds of deep and intense friendship deriving from the fact that we are neighbours, that we are both neutral countries, and that we share a common history.

The past year has been marked by significant progress in the reduction of international antagonisms, the development of new forms of co-operation and the strengthening of international peace at the regional and the world levels. These developments have been particularly spectacular in Europe, but peace efforts have finally borne fruit, after long and often painful years, in some other regions as well. But the new conflict in the Middle East reminds us again that it is illusory to believe in the advent of everlasting peace.

In Europe, we honour all those whose courage has made dreams come true. I want to pay a tribute to the many silent heroes of change: to the suffering of all those who have been arrested, beaten, persecuted or exiled; to the writers of underground literature - samizdat; to the believers; to the intellectuals; to the farmers; to the workers. They are a source of inspiration and optimism for us all. Their steadfast perseverance has brought about a new awareness of the dignity of the human race and the inalienable value of human rights.

Only one year has passed since I stood with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary and symbolically cut the barbed war along our common border. For decades that barbed war had symbolized the division of Europe. That era is coming to a close; the gradual unification of the continent of Europe based on a lasting system of security and co-operation is under way.

For the first time in this century, European peoples are rallying round common values: human rights, pluralist democracy, the rule of law, a market economy with a social and ecological dimension. Those are the foundations on which the new Europe is being built. The forthcoming Paris summit of Heads of State or

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Government of States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) will mark the end of the post-war era and will set in place important guidelines for a future European "architecture", encompassing pan-European structures and institutions.

Next week's New York meeting of CSCE Foreign Ministers will assess the scope of the preparatory work being carried out in Vienna and will take note of the treaty on a final settlement concerning Germany, which governs the external aspects of German unity.

Austria, located in the centre of Europe, has been participating actively in the various processes shaping new forms of regional and subregional co-operation. We are convinced that neutral Austria, having applied for membership of the European Community and thanks to its historical experience and its relations with neighbours in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, can make a special contribution to the building of a new Europe.

An example of the new dynamism of subregional international co-operation is the Initiative of the Pentagonal, which comprises Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria. This Initiative provides for technical co-operation in areas such as the environment, energy, transport, science and technology, culture and tourism. Such co-operation, which is developing so naturally, proves that even after four decades of separation, centuries-old abilities to communicate remain.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The Pentagonale Initiative has also provided a platform for the exchange of views among those five countries and for the definition of common positions on regional issues. Enriched in their culture by more than 25 different nationalities and national minorities, the Pentagonale countries took an important common initiative on the protection of national minorities at the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. In it the participating States agreed to adopt, where necessary, special measures for safeguarding the rights of minorities without discrimination and in full equality before the law. The identity of these minorities is to be safeguarded and preserved.

Austria is therefore particularly pleased to mention, in this context, the substantial progress achieved in the implementation of the Austro-Italian Agreement on South Tyrol of 6 September 1946.

As I have already been able to report, during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, relations between Italy and Austria have reached an excellent level. However, in order that Austria may declare this conflict - which has been before the United Nations for 30 years - settled, three of the 137 measures agreed upon with Italy in 1969 have yet to be implemented, and a further six questions which arose at a later date and which concern the consensual practice and effectiveness of the Agreement of 6 September 1946 still remain to be resolved.

This statement of figures requires some remarks on the quality of the actual situation. Italy has shown increasing understanding for the concerns of the South Tyrolean people. This can be seen both in the implementation of the first part of those measures aimed at establishing equal standing for the Italian and German languages and in the considerable financial allocations for autonomy. Even more significant, however, is the confidence that Italy places in the South Tyrolean minority in general and in its frontier-straddling activities in particular. Italy

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

has thus made it possible for the South Tyroleans to exercise faithfully the noblest task that could be assigned to that minority, that of serving as a cultural, social and economic bridge between Italy and Austria.

This positive attitude on the part of the Italian Government shows once more that minorities must be considered a dynamic and enriching element, not a burden. This is an opportunity, both to settle the conflict concerning South Tyrol and to arrest such developments as we may observe in Eastern European countries today, where old nationality conflicts threaten to reappear once ideological coercion has collapsed.

Italy's settling in the near future of the last outstanding questions mentioned not only would resolve a long conflict within the framework of the United Nations but could also provide a positive example to other States with similar problems through the specific provisions agreed to and, even more so, through the experience gained.

We must admit that there is a risk that our joy over the tumbling of economic and political walls in Europe may distract our attention from other regional affairs and from the growing complex web of mutual interdependence that today characterizes our multipolar world. European unification has, however, never been seen as a substitute for global partnership. On the contrary, peace, stability and co-operation in any region are the prerequisites for tackling those global issues which will inevitably be on the long-term agenda of the community of nations.

Iraq's aggression and illegal annexation of the sovereign State of Kuwait provide a formidable challenge to the new global partnership that is emerging after the end of the East-West cleavage. The way the entire world has been reacting to this action proves that the overcoming of East-West antagonisms has not only benefited Europe but strengthened a far-reaching sense of solidarity. As far as Austria is concerned, this crisis has clearly shown that the status of permanent

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

neutrality does not prevent us from participating in actions of international solidarity.

Since the beginning of the crisis Austria has taken a firm stand, guided also by our own bitter historical memories. We have denounced the illegal occupation and annexation of Kuwait, a sovereign and independent country with which Austria maintains friendly relations.

We have condemned the unlawful measures taken by Iraq against foreign citizens and diplomats, and we have fully implemented all the sanctions against Iraq as decided upon by the Security Council in resolution 661 (1990). Furthermore, in the spirit of solidarity, neutral Austria has granted overflight rights over its territory for aircraft carrying reinforcements and food supplies to the troops stationed in Saudi Arabia. In the same spirit of solidarity, we immediately released funds for the benefit of those countries most severely affected economically by the crisis, that is to say, Egypt and Jordan, funds we are determined to increase substantially.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Austria also condemns every violation of the privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions and representatives as an aggression against the essential foundations of peaceful relations bewteen States. That is why Austria, together with other concerned countries, called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council on the subject.

Compliance with the embargo enacted by the Security Council in the relevant resolutions will be an important test of how truly united the nations of the world Organization are in defence of law and of the sovereignty and independence of its medium-sized and smaller Members. Austria welcomes the decisions taken by the Security Council in favour of Kuwait because they confirm the principle that small and medium-sized States have the same right to independence as larger countries. It is primarily those countries that are not major Powers that have a vital interest in full compliance with international law, which is so often trampled underfoot. Should Austria, which has submitted its candidacy for a non-permanent seat on the Council for the period 1991 to 1992, be elected, it will commit itself even more to the realization of that principle.

We may be witnessing a qualitative change in international relations that entails the political realization of the noble concept that lies at the heart of the United Nations Charter, namely, collective security for all. This evolution, provided it persists, will most certainly have profound repercussions on concepts of sovereignty, independence and even neutrality. Although we stand ready, together with other States, to draw the necessary conclusions, we are at the same time determined to maintain the predictability and credibility of our policy of neutrality.

Only full implementation by Iraq of Security Council resolution 660 (1990) will lead to a peaceful settlement of that conflict. Austria therefore appeals

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

again to Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait, to restore the legitimate authority, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait and to release all foreign citizens.

In view of the highly explosive situation, which could easily lead to enormous bloodshed, we urge all States to explore all possibilities for a peaceful solution of this crisis. I should like to pledge Austria's support for the efforts initiated by the Secretary-General to achieve a negotiated settlement with Iraq. There can be no doubt that the action taken by the Security Council has strengthened the authority of the United Nations and its organs. For the first time in its history the Security Council not only has adopted decisions but has also authorized enforcement measures for their implementation. At the same time, this determination to take action, far more manifest than in the past, also increases the significance of other Council resolutions, even when not accompanied by such enforcement measures.

Of course, as the President of France stressed before the Assembly a few days ago, law is indivisible. As we continue to strengthen the authority of the world Organization and its resolutions with respect to the Gulf crisis - and here, as the President of the United States has pointed out, no other problem should be allowed to deter us - we must at the same time display our determination with regard to the implementation of other resolutions adopted by the Council. We accordingly support the proposal made by, inter alia, the President of the French Republic and the Foreign Minister of the USSR regarding the convening at an appropriate time of an international conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations.

The international efforts to find a peaceful political solution to the Cambodian problem have intensified since the last session of the General

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Assembly. The new co-operation between the five permanent members of the Security Council has yielded positive results in Cambodia as well. The document on a United Nations-monitored peace plan that was recently adopted signals that there is realistic hope of ending the civil war and thereby the long-lasting suffering of the Cambodian people and of establishing a truly legitimate and democratically elected Government. I hope that the Supreme National Council will facilitate the peace process and national reconciliation. As President of the International Conference on Kampuchea I am at the disposal of all the concerned parties to contribute to that process.

Unfortunately, hostilities in Afghanistan are continuing, although the differences on the principles of a political settlement have narrowed. We strongly support the endeavours of the Secretary-General to initiate a peaceful solution to that conflict. We hope that the aid programme carried out within the framework of "Operation Salaam" will be of benefit to all areas of the country as a supplement to those peace-making efforts.

History will show that the successful completion of the independence process in Namibia has been one of the most positive chapters in the annals of the United Nations. It will doubtless have an impact on the political options perceived by the people of South Africa in moving towards the abolition of apartheid. As a matter of fact the South African Government has started in 1990 dismantling a major part of apartheid. It has finally released several opposition leaders, in particular Mr. Nelson Mandela, and has entered into a dialogue with representatives of the black majority. We strongly hope that that Government will take the necessary steps as soon as possible to create the required conditions for genuine negotiations leading to a new, democratic Constitution based on the principle

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

of political pluralism. We welcome the new consensus in South Africa to renounce violence and to give a chance to negotiations. The international community can only support these developments.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The successful United Nations operation in Nicaragua augurs well for the broader issue of peace in Central America. Co-operation between the countries of the region concerned and the support given by the entire international community have proved to be effective elements in the resolution of conflicts. I welcome Nicaragua's return to democracy and hope that the internal peace and well-being of the Nicaraguan people will thereby be assured.

Austria notes with satisfaction the fact that several regional conflicts appear to be moving towards solution. We have tried to contribute to this trend. Austrian battalions are participating in the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Cyprus and on the Golan Heights, and Austrian officers are among the United Nations military observers in Pakistan, in the Middle East, in Iran and in Iraq. The United Nations police force in Namibia has included Austrians, and Austrians have served as election observers in Nicaragua. These activities reflect our firm commitment to the cause of this international Organization and its sustained efforts for peace.

The progress that has been made in the resolution of regional conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and in regard to co-operation and integration in Europe, will release resources and, we hope, focus attention on the ever-more-pressing global issues of human survival that must be addressed. In this context, we entirely support the endeavours of the Soviet Union and of the United States to reduce their nuclear-weapon arsenals, and hope that all categories of nuclear weapons will be dealt with in the near future.

As regards conventional disarmament, considerable progress has been made at the talks on conventional forces in Europe. We hope that soon an initial agreement will be signed at the summit meeting of the CSCE countries, which would open the way to negotiations on further, more far-reaching disarmament measures.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The international community looks forward to finalization, in the course of next year, of a treaty on chemical weapons. Let me recall, in this respect, that Austria has submitted its candidacy to be the host country for the future organization for the prohibition of chemical weapons.

The economic imbalances between industrialized countries and developing countries have been only partly reduced over the years, despite the growing disparity in standards of living in many cases. As certain United Nations reports have underscored, the "lost 1980s" have tended to worsen the situation for developing countries and for those sectors of developing societies that have not been able to free themselves from the vicious circle of poverty, underdevelopment, indebtedness, environmental destruction and pressing population growth.

Although, in some countries, the debt problem has been alleviated to a certain extent, for many - in particular the least developed countries - it is still a major obstacle to their regaining development momentum. I hope that the principles recently adopted in the final document of the Paris Conference on the Least-Developed Countries will give impetus to the search for solutions to the serious problems of those countries.

The strengthening of private initiative and entrepreneurial skills offers hope for a return by some countries to sustained development. Structural adjustment and the adjustment of economic policies have been necessary in many cases. However, the social cost of these policies must be kept within certain limits.

Let us take note of the fact that the developing countries have themselves played an active role in this process of reorientation. The African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery and the Final Act of UNCTAD VII reflect the changes in perception of, and the criteria used by, the leaders of these countries.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The unleashing of internal market forces presupposes favourable external relations. To this end, new financial resources and the opening up of the markets of the industrialized countries are as necessary as the creation of regional markets by means of regional integration. The success of the current GATT negotiations will have a positive influence on external conditions in that it will make them conducive to more dynamic development.

"The State of the World Environment" - a report of the United Nations Environment Programme - provides shocking reading about the staggering tragedy of a resource base that is dwindling owing to deforestation, soil erosion, reduced soil fertility, desertification, the loss of bio-diversity, the contamination of rivers, lakes and oceans, reduced ozone-layer protection, and climatic change - to name but a few factors.

Although our planet's environmental tragedies are sometimes more visible in third-world countries, the industrialized countries must be aware of their special responsibility in this field.

With respect to population growth, two factors - responsible behaviour by parents, and the economic and social situation of the countries concerned - must be taken into account to ensure sustainable development for those countries. We know that sustainable development is not only an issue of value structures and behaviour patterns in our society; it is, above all, a challenge to resource allocation.

A major issue in attaining sustainable development is, however, related to the use of energy resources. Studies undertaken at the Vienna-based International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis sketch some eerie scenarios in respect of climatic changes. One of the most urgent priority measures - one to be undertaken in the immediate future - is reduction of carbon dioxide emissions and other greenhouse gases.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Energy policy has become so important for our societies, developing and industrialized alike, that it is high time for political leaders of the world to take a closer look at our options.

The year 1991 will mark the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. The Programme of Action adopted in Nairobi and its institutional follow-up have led to pertinent conclusions and to improved co-ordination within the United Nations system.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

The potential of new and renewable sources of energy is known to be enormous. Under different circumstances, renewable sources of energy could already be contributing to the world's energy supply to a much greater extent. The still abundant supply of conventional energy should not blind us to the fact that we are wasting irreplaceable resources.

A number of non-governmental organizations, such as EURO-SOLAR, are increasingly demanding that the issue of the development and more appropriate use of renewable sources of energy should find expression within a high, institutional framework within the United Nations system.

The development and dissemination of new technologies have not yet received adequate attention. Indeed, in some countries, funds dedicated to research and development in this field have suffered substantial cutbacks. This is deplorable and short-sighted. I would propose, therefore, that we should listen more attentively to the warnings of scientists. This would lead us to look for means by which Governments could jointly review their energy policies, in particular, in the light of the threats to our environment. The global aspects of conventional energy supplies require close international co-operation in order to adjust national energy policies to the new environmental challenges.

At its fifth session, the Intergovernmental Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy decided to convene, in 1991, a group of experts to assess the implementation process of the Nairobi Plan of Action. We welcome this initiative, as well as the efforts made to prepare a significant contribution to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. We hope that this will lead to a strengthening of the efficiency of the existing institutional framework.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

A special conference as part of the follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development could lead to a strengthening of inter-State co-operation in order to meet the new energy and environment challenge. This conference could also reconsider the role of the United Nations in this field.

In my view, the task of the United Nations would be to supplement and support all developments stemming from private initiatives, which could be carried out under free market conditions. We are all required to encourage the efforts made to assure the reliability of new methods of energy production and to attain higher levels of efficiency in the use of the energy currently at our disposal. My delegation has prepared a memorandum on international energy policy which will be conveyed to the other delegations. We would be grateful for comments and observations.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in 1992, could be the most important diplomatic event for the international community before the year 2000, its effects reaching far beyond this date. This Conference will be instrumental in expediting progress in respect of global environmental problems and will result in a new global strategy for achieving sustainable development, and, beyond that, in a new form of economic and social thinking: the output of the free market economy must meet social requirements and environmental needs. Only such a concept of the market economy is consistent with human dignity.

In the future, environmental diplomacy will become ever more important and difficult. We must acknowledge that the demands on environmental resources and the requirement to conserve them will both continue to increase. As a result, conflicts over the development and use of resources could become more frequent, and could even threaten international peace.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Last year, I proposed to the Assembly that a corps of "green helmets" should be established, that is, a system to deal with the prevention and settlement of environmental disputes. On the basis of the comments received, we have developed a more specific set of ideas, which have been submitted to the second special session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and to the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which met in Nairobi in August this year. I hope this initiative will contribute to the efforts being undertaken to address this new, complex challenge to international peace and co-operation.

The current session of the General Assembly will have to take crucial decisions with regard to international co-operation against the illicit production, supply, trafficking and distribution of drugs and psychotropic substances and against the demand for them. Any decision taken with respect to a new United Nations drug structure should reflect the fact that the social aspects of drug abuse, therapies, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, as well as the interdependence between drug abuse and crime, require cross-sectoral activities within institutions dealing with drugs and social policies.

Full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by all are a prerequisite for a life in dignity and the well-being of every individual. Austria regards the promotion and protection of human rights as corner-stones of its constitution and foreign policy. The full realization of human rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other important international instruments is a permanent obligation accepted by the global community. As a member of the Commission on Human Rights, Austria will support every effort to prevent human rights abuses and will contribute to constructive and effective work by the Commission.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

In view of the contemporary world as we see it, Austria expresses its satisfaction at the renascence of the Charter of San Francisco. Indeed, nowadays the human condition of the peoples of the United Nations is no different from the concept its authors had in mind: war, injustice and poverty are still the scourges of mankind. The United Nations, we all, are constantly called to fight them.

Without respect for those fundamental principles I have just referred to and without determination to implement them, we will not have a chance to achieve success in the pursuit of these most noble goals.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw to the attention of members that the General Assembly will take up agenda item 151, entitled "Ceremony for the presentation of the Declaration and Plan of Action adopted by world leaders at the World Summit for Children" on Monday, 1 October at 9.30 a.m. The ceremony will consist of a presentation by the co-Presidents of the World Summit for Children, the President of the Republic of Mali, His Excellency General Moussa Traore, and the Prime Minister of Canada, His Excellency Mr. Brian Mulroney, of the Declaration and Plan of Action to be adopted by the meeting on 30 September.

In the light of the decision taken by the Assembly at its third plenary meeting on Friday, 21 September, there shall be no other speakers at the ceremony, and it will end promptly at 10 a.m.

I take it that the Assembly agrees to this procedure.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY MR. INGVAR CARLSSON, PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden.

Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. CARLSSON (Sweden): I have come to this Assembly to pay a warm tribute and to confirm a deep commitment. My tribute is directed to this world Organization and to its dedicated and loyal servants. In the new international political climate, but also when faced by a sudden crisis, the United Nations has lived up to our high expectations.

The commitment I wish to confirm is of the people and Government of Sweden - to the United Nations system, to its Charter, and to its principles of collective security. Our nation, as always, stands ready to contribute to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization. And let me assure the Secretary-General that he has our full support for his leadership of the United Nations.

In the last few years we have seen a dramatically improved international situation. The two major Powers are shaping a fundamentally new relationship. Nuclear arsenals are being reduced. Conventional forces are withdrawn. Offensive military doctrines are becoming obsolete. The Cold War is over.

We have all benefited from these developments. The risk of a nuclear war that could destroy our entire civilization has been greatly reduced. And opportunities for peaceful change and for peaceful settlement of conflicts have been created.

In southern Africa, Namibia is now an independent nation. In South Africa itself fundamental change has been initiated. Nelson Mandela is free, after 27 years in prison. As the moral leader of that nation he is negotiating with President De Klerk on the abolition of the apartheid system.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

In Chile, a democratically elected President has replaced a military dictator. In Central America, the peace process is continuing, with the active involvement of the United Nations. In Cambodia a solution that has the backing of all parties seems to be within reach. In Europe there is a new atmosphere of optimism and trust, of co-operation and integration. The Berlin Wall has finally been demolished. Only five days from now, the two German States - symbol of a divided Europe - will be united. In Central and Eastern Europe, democratic elections are being held in one country after another. The dictatorships have been overthrown by the peaceful force of the will of the people. And we look forward to the day when the three Baltic Republics will regain their independence in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

All this is a breakthrough for the vision of a Europe without borders, for the ideas of visionary leaders like Jean Monnet, Willy Brandt and Olof Palme. After confrontation and rearmament, we have dialogue and co-operation. The final victor on the European continent is democracy itself. For all of us this is a source of great joy. And all around the world, what so many have worked for so long, is now finally turning into reality.

In spite of the joy and the optimism of the past year, new threats to our common security can still occur. And they did, as we all know, on the morning of 2 August. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is an act of aggression and a fundamental breach of international law. It is justly and unequivocally condemned by the international community. The way that Iraq is treating hundreds of thousands of foreign nationals demonstrates a total lack of human decency. To force thousands to stay in the country against their will shows an arrogant disregard for international law.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

A catastrophe in the Gulf area must be avoided. Iraq must immediately cease its occupation of Kuwait, withdraw all its troops, and give all foreigners the freedom to depart. The legitimate Government of Kuwait must be restored.

The situation around the Gulf is extremely serious. But much has changed in the world in the last few years - and this also has clear implications for the current crisis. Today, the super-Powers consult each other, at the highest level. Today, the United States and the Soviet Union are co-operating here at the United Nations. And today the United Nations Security Council has been able to take swift decisions on effective mandatory sanctions against Iraq.

This firm action gives us hope that the current crisis can be solved. But it also marks a turning-point for the fundamental idea of collective security.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

Sweden supports all the decisions taken by the Security Council in the present crisis. My Government also supports the declared readiness of the Council to take further action, if necessary, to force Iraq to end its aggression. If the Council were to call for a peace-keeping force in connection with an Iraqi withdrawal, our country would respond positively to such a request.

The current international efforts must focus also on the need for humanitarian assistance. The hundreds of thousands of refugees in the area need our help - with food and shelter and with transportation to their home countries.

The United Nations should be at the centre of these efforts - to help and to organize and co-ordinate the contributions of donor countries. Effective action by the Organization in the humanitarian field will help to strengthen its role in future crises and conflicts. Sweden will participate actively in this work.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf is part of the complex Middle East situation. Still, it cannot be directly linked to the solution of other conflicts in the region. An international conference on the Middle East is needed more than ever before.

A recent report from the United Nations estimates that the growth rate in the industrialized nations will exceed 3 per cent per year in the 1990s. But for developing countries growth will not match the increase in population. More people will have less to share. Heavy debt burdens will aggravate the problems. Unemployment will grow. Illiteracy will spread. The situation will go from bad to worse.

This is another warning of possible future global confrontations between rich and poor. It could indicate that there may be grounds for a future bitter struggle between the industrialized developed countries, on the one hand, and the poor countries, on the other. This is what could happen. But it does not have to happen. And it cannot be allowed to happen. It is possible to steer events in

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

another direction. The richer countries must show that we take the problems of the poorer nations seriously, that we respect the rights, the culture and the individuality of other nations and regions. Above all we must show that the basic values of justice and solidarity, freedom and self-determination do not apply to just our own country or our own continent: they apply to all nations all over the world.

If justice and solidarity do not have global relevance, then gaps will widen and confrontations will sharpen, economically and politically, culturally and socially. That is why we must take action. We must reverse the trend. We must increase the flow of resources from North to South. Otherwise we run the risk of seeing many more violent conflicts in the years to come. And, worst of all, this will endanger the future of the world's children.

The social and economic conditions in the world today can have awesome consequences for the younger generation. During this decade we shall witness the birth of the largest generation in the history of the planet, with some 1.5 billion children being born. But millions of these children will be permitted to spend only a short time on Earth. Each day 40,000 children die, many of them from diseases that could easily be prevented. The world now has the means to protect the lives of all children, to ensure their survival, to promote their development. We know how to do it. What we now need is the commitment to take action. The World Summit for Children this week-end provides a unique opportunity to make such a commitment. Leaders of some 70 nations will then be able to state together that the rights of the child shall come first on their agendas. The Convention on the Rights of the Child is an excellent instrument for meeting that commitment.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

At this very moment we have a special opportunity to fulfil that goal. At a time of a new relationship between East and West, spending on military armaments can be cut back substantially. Military budgets are being reduced in both East and West. A high proportion of these savings can and should be used to promote the development of the poor countries. In fact, right now we have a unique chance to take a bold initiative for improving North-South relations. This is matter of basic solidarity with people in other countries in difficult circumstances. But it is also an issue that is decisive for our common security.

One other matter is linked with our common future in a very similar way: the need to halt and reverse environmental degradation. This task has become a major challenge in the 1990s. In less than two years' time the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development will be meeting in Brazil. That Conference will have to make a number of important decisions.

In 1972 the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm under the motto "Only One Earth". It endorsed the principle of joint action in the field of global concern. But that was not enough. The scale of the problems has vastly outpaced the fragmented measures taken so far.

We know now with certainty that the climate of the Earth is changing. We are facing the tragedy of advancing deserts and retreating and dying forests. We are confronted with an ever-increasing loss of species, ever-scarcer fresh-water resources, destructive living conditions in urban areas and pressures of overpopulation. These problems jeopardize the livelihood, prosperity and security of present and future generations. They have come actually to threaten the entire global life-support system of our planet.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

Effective strategies are now needed, at the national, regional and global levels. We who belong to the affluent minority which consumes the majority of the resources will have to take the lead. But nobody will escape the responsibility to act.

We shall all have to work together closely to avert economic and environmental disaster. We must now translate the concept of sustainable development into reality. To do this we need specific action on key issues. We need important structural changes within our countries. We must agree on modalities for the efficient transfer of environmentally sound technologies, and we must agree on how to provide additional financial resources to developing countries.

We live in an age when the only possible course is to seek security together, common security. The time is past when each State could independently realize its goals and dreams within its own national boundaries. We want to work together to prevent conflicts, under joint responsibility. We do not want them to be handled by the great Powers on their own, however well-armed they are and however well-intentioned they may be.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

More clearly than ever before, we see the need for an effective system of collective security. Our goal is a system where we all help protect each other, where we feel secure in the knowledge that an attack on any one of us will not be tolerated by anyone else.

Our goal is a system which has effective institutions for solving conflicts and for handling new threats to our security before these threats develop into violent confrontations.

Our goal is a system which builds on a common interest. That interest is already clearly defined in the Charter: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

Our goal is a system which can deal with underlying causes of conflict, with economic misery and social injustice, denial of human rights and environmental degradation.

Our goal, finally, is a system which is built on respect for international law and which gives freedom and justice to all.

That is what the United Nations should be; that is what it can be; and now the important goal is beginning to be realized. A dream has started to come true - the dream that, united together in this world Organization, we can protect the security of each and every one of us. We have vested part of our sovereignty in the Security Council in order to allow the United Nations to act forcefully in a crisis.

Our Organization has achieved impressive results in recent years. It has also expanded its scope. What we now see taking shape is an effective United Nations system for security and co-operation.

In peace-keeping the traditional tasks remain while new functions are being developed. Troops and military observers still form the backbone of peace-keeping operations. But the civilian component is growing, with an increasing role for the

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

United Nations in election supervision and building of democratic structures. The monitoring of elections in Nicaragua and Namibia is one example.

In peace-making, the United Nations has proved its value in a number of regional conflicts. Other important and difficult tasks lie ahead such as Western Sahara and Cambodia. The United Nations will also have to face the problem of how to deal with internal conflicts, often with an ethnic background.

In peace-building, the United Nations has to develop a co-ordinated strategy for dealing with the fundamental economic and social problems confronting the world of today. Poverty, environmental degradation and the awesome spread of drug abuse are global issues which must be dealt with through joint action.

The great hopes for this Organization must not be frustrated by a lack of resources. Therefore, it is not acceptable that it still has to face serious financial problems.

My Government is especially concerned that peace-keeping activities run the serious risk of being hampered due to lack of funds. It has been said before, but it has to be repeated: every Member State must pay its contribution in full and on time.

For too many years, the work of the United Nations was hampered by the cold war. The Security Council was crippled by the frequent use of the veto. And this Assembly was too often a platform for propaganda battles.

A much more constructive atmosphere now prevails in the Organization. The era of confrontation has largely been replaced by consensus-seeking and pragmatic solutions.

My message from the people and the Government of Sweden is one of solid support for these changes. As a nation outside military alliances, we only have ourselves to rely on in time of conflict. We therefore have a strong interest in a forceful United Nations and in the rule of law in international relations.

(Mr. Carlsson, Sweden)

That is why we in Sweden so energetically welcome and support the revitalized role of the United Nations as an organization for collective security. It offers the machinery for co-operation between the large and the many smaller States in the world. It gives every nation a chance to participate in the work for peace and a better future. We can now develop the United Nations into an effective system for security, co-operation and development.

I am convinced that the nations of the world are ready to respond to that challenge. It will require inspired leadership and a concrete and firm commitment. The United Nations has a tremendous potential for keeping the peace, for making peace and for building peace. It symbolizes our dream of a world together. It is a world which is one and indivisible, with a common heritage and a common future.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, was escorted from the rostrum.

ADDRESS BY VICE-ADMIRAL AUGUSTUS AIKHOMU, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. AIKHOMU (Nigeria): I congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. Your election is testimony to the high esteem in which both you and your country, Malta, are held by the international community. We are confident that you will provide effective leadership to the work of the Assembly.

Let me also take this opportunity to pay tribute to my compatriot, Major-General Joseph Garba, President of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session. I congratulate him for a successful tenure and for bringing honour to our country. May I also thank the international community and, in particular, Africa for the support accorded Nigeria during the period we held the presidency.

I commend the efforts and the contribution of the Secretary-General to the enhancement of the role of our Organization.

Since the last session our Organization has undergone positive changes in its membership. On benalf of the Government and the people of Nigeria, I wish again to welcome the Republic of Namibia to membership of the United Nations. In this connection, we commend the role played by the Organization and the entire international community in the attainment of Namibia's independence. May I also welcome our newest Member, Liechtenstein. Similarly, we congratulate the Government and the people of Yemen for their reunification.*

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* Mr. Sy (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

In the same vein, we also look forward to the imminent and historic reunification of Germany. We expect that a united Germany will be accorded a significant role within the Organization. We expect, through these changes, that the United Nations will reflect not only the new realities in world affairs, but will also embark on equitable geographical representation at the highest level of the Organization. Indeed, the time has come for the United Nations to be restructured to give Africa a permanent seat in the Security Council. Other regions equally deserve consideration. This will give full expression to the universality of our Organization.

Since the last session of our Assembly, new positive trends have emerged in the international political environment. There has been a new universal wave of democracy. The Berlin Wall has been pulled down. Even more important, in the immediate aftermath of the cold war, ideological rivalry has been replaced by increased super-Power co-operation, opening the way to the enhanced relevance of the United Nations in global affairs. We can only hope that these positive trends will provide the requisite climate to enable the developing countries to pursue their objective of development in freedom and peace.

Despite these positive trends, there are still unresolved questions which may put in jeopardy the emerging world order based on co-operation. The breach of peace and security in the Gulf, which we have all condemned, the threat of renewed conflict in the Middle East and the economic stagnation and decline in the developing countries, all point to the fact that our optimism should be guarded, and that security and survival remain the most important questions on the international political agenda.

The crisis in the Gulf constitutes the greatest threat to international peace and security today. Nigeria believes firmly in the non-use of force in international relations. It is for this reason that Nigeria commends the Security

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

Council for all the measures it has adopted in dealing with the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait. Nigeria not only endorses all these measures, but has also taken steps to implement appropriate Security Council resolutions. Nigeria once again calls on Iraq to pull out, unconditionally, all its forces from Kuwait. Kuwait is a sovereign nation. Consequently, its territorial integrity cannot and should not be compromised.

It is gratifying to see a vibrant and enhanced role for the United Nations in the emerging world order. We hope that this swift and collective response and action in the Gulf will be the norm in cases of tension for all time.

The experience of the developing countries in the 1980s has not borne out the notion that sustained growth in the industrialized North would serve as an engine of growth in the South. While the industrialized nations have had about eight years of uninterrupted expansion, the economies of the vast majority of the countries in the South have either stagnated or even declined. This emerging dual pattern in the economic performance of Member States of the Organization is attributable to many factors. Some of these factors are the escalating debt burden, the sharp fall in commodity prices, protectionism, the decline in foreign investment, and the net transfer of resources from the developing to the developed nations. It is indeed a fact that the developed countries have not pursued or sustained policies that aid the economic growth of developing countries.

The pervasive and deep decline among developing countries in the 1980s indicates that poor domestic economic management is not the main culprit for their economic woes, as commonly suggested. The fact is that the external shocks of the 1980s have had a devastating impact on many of our economies. Nigeria's plight and experience is very illustrative. Our oil export revenue fell by 75 per cent

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

between 1980 and 1986. On the other hand, our external debt rose from $3.4 billion in 1978 to $30.7 billion in 1988, due in large measure to a sharp rise in interest rates. The combined effects of these externally-induced shocks have led to a dramatic reduction in the living standards of our people.

In the period 1989 to 1990 the total debt stock of all developing countries stood at $1,300 billion. That figure is nearly twice our export earnings, with our annual interest obligations currently at about $100 billion. And the debt, of course, is still growing.

On our continent, Africa, total debt stock rose from approximately $48 billion in 1978 to an estimated $250 billion in 1989. The effect of this debt burden on sub-Saharan Africa has been devastating. By the end of 1988, sub-Saharan African debt was equal to its gross national product and three and a half times its export earnings. Most countries in the sub-region have found it impossible to meet debt-servicing obligations. African countries have had to bear debt-servicing obligations averaging between 35 per cent to 40 per cent of their export earnings, a most punishing burden for such low-income economies to bear.

As a result of the negative net transfer of resources, principally arising from debt-servicing, developing countries have suffered painful reductions in income. Consequently, within the decade of the 1980s, six African countries were reclassified from middle-income to low-income economies. On this scale of dismal economic performance, arising from an unfavourable international economic environment, the number of African countries classified as least developed countries increased from 17 to 28. There is a real fear that this number will increase if present global economic policies are not redressed.

The Nigerian delegaton calls on the major industrialized countries to exhibit the political will needed to address and resolve the main economic problems of our

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

time, particularly the debt problem. The resolution of the debt problem will significantly reduce the pernicious phenomenon of the negative transfer of resources and thereby release resources needed for development and growth.

We recognize that effective solutions to the debt problem must be the joint responsibility of debtor and creditor countries as well as the multilateral financial institutions and the commercial banks. Recent initiatives aimed at the reduction of the debt stock and debt service are well conceived. However, these initiatives are not sufficiently far-reaching to deal with the profound crisis that has already wrecked and prevented the growth of the economies of many developing countries. What is required is co-ordinated and intensified international economic co-operation to address the economic problems of our era, as well as the proposal, adoption and implementation of durable, far-reaching and forward-looking solutions.

We urge the developed nations to rise to the challenge posed by the debt problem. Effective measures should be devised and implemented that would remove the other obstacles that impede the rapid economic development of the developing countries. We know that we have the ultimate responsibility for our development. In this regard, we in Nigeria have embarked on major reforms and restructuring of our economy. In spite of these measures, the flow of foreign investment and capital into our economy has not matched our expectations and sacrifices. The growth and development of our economies will not reach their full potential without profound structural changes in the global economic and financial system.

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

Related to the question of economic development is the issue of disarmament. In our view, the question of disarmament is not only restricted to the immediate benefit of the preservation of life, although that is important, but also to the relationship between disarmament and development. The disarmament question is, therefore, important in terms of both military and non-military security.

Recent developments in disarmament negotiations gave us grounds for hope. Unfortunately, this hope has not been justified, and the expectations of the "peace dividend" are rapidly receding.

An important component of our common security must be a binding universal acceptance of the principle of the non-use of force in resolving international disputes. Such a security system must also involve deep reductions in existing global stocks of nuclear and conventional weapons, armed forces and related expenditure, which are draining the world's limited resources and impoverishing humanity.

In our region, Nigeria is proud to be associated with the various efforts towards regional peace and security. The turning of Africa into a nuclear-free zone, as embodied in the 1964 Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), remains our goal. Our commitment to the strengthening of peace and security in the South Atlantic region is solid. We demonstrated this commitment when, earlier this year, we hosted the Second Meeting of the States of the Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic in Abuja, during which concrete decisions on the practical ways of accelerating the objectives of the zone were reached.

We must preserve our environment. Irreparable damage to our environment will have tragic consequences for our civilization. Environmental degradation caused by the negative effects of scientific and technological development has, in many cases, already led to adverse changes in the environment. These changes threaten

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

the life-sustaining ecosystems and pose a danger to the health and well-being of mankind. There is, therefore, an urgent and compelling need for global action to deal with such environmental issues as deforestation, desertification, protection of the ozone layer, and more rational use of land and water resources and energy.

Developing countries are highly vulnerable to environmental degradation. Owing to the low levels of technological development, our countries are ill-equipped to deal effectively with the complex problems of environmental abuse. Consequently, the developed countries bear a special responsibility to promote environmentally sound policies that will contribute to sustainable development.

International development co-operation for environmental protection should be a central task for this decade. Development co-operation must be based on respect for nationally determined goals and priorities. However, we should not be expected to accept development assistance on terms which are detrimental to our national development. There is now an urgent need for all countries to put in place effective standards for the disposal of toxic wastes within their own borders. Rigourous standards should also be observed for the trans-boundary movement of toxic wastes. Under no conditions should toxic and hazardous wastes be sent to countries that are technologically incapable of their safe disposal.

We have recently set up the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, because of the importance the Government of Nigeria attaches to environmental protection and security. In this regard, we look forward to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which will take place in Brazil in 1992.

Human rights are of cardinal importance. The promotion of the well-being of the individual, and respect for and observance of his fundamental rights are directly related to the progress of the individual and his society. We hold the view that, whatever the historical background or the material circumstances of

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

peoples, their civil and political rights, on the one hand, and their economic, social and cultural rights, on the other, are indivisible and interdependent. No category of right is more important than the other. Governments that engage in the flagrant violation of the rights of their people provoke crisis, conflict and instability. Although much remains to be done in the area of compliance, the United Nations has been impressive in setting standards in this field.

At its forty-fourth session, the General Assembly requested the views of Governments on the need to convene a world conference on human rights. Permit me, Mr. President, to affirm our support for this call. Nigeria is strongly committed to the principle of political pluralism. In this connection, we have commenced the process of democratization of our governmental system. We have embarked on a political transition programme to full democracy, which will lead to the election of a democratic government. Indeed, the third tier of government would be elected in December this year.

The problem of production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs is one of increasing concern. A comprehensive approach is required to deal with this problem. Bold and concerted international and national action is required. Consequently, we have established the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency to deal with the problem. We are co-operating with other Governments to ensure the effectiveness of the campaign against drug trafficking and consumption. However, only a solution that addresses the demand and supply aspects of the problem has any chance of success.

One of our objectives in Africa is to promote peace and security. It is in this context that the Economic Community of West African States sent a peace-keeping force to Liberia. Our goals are to facilitate a cease-fire among the different warring groups, to protect the lives of Liberians and other nationals,

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

to create stable security conditions in the country, and to create an atmosphere conducive to the installing of a democratically elected government.

We hope that the international community will support this peace process. There is a serious refugee problem in the subregion arising from the Liberian conflict. We appeal to the international community for urgent humanitarian assistance. We also call for logistic and other related assistance to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in its peace-keeping operations.

The situation in southern Africa remains of primary concern to my country. This year has truly witnessed important developments in southern Africa. These developments are a result of our collective and individual resolve to eradicate the scourge of apartheid, which dehumanizes both its victims and its perpetrators alike. Nigeria, indeed Africa and the entire international community celebrated the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela. We welcome the dialogue between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Government of South Africa. Nigeria notes with interest the opening of the National Party to all races. We also welcome the recent meeting between representatives of other political groups within South Africa. Notwithstanding these positive changes, we must not forget that the major pillars of apartheid remain intact. The racist Constitution remains the basic law in South Africa. Black South Africans are still victims of oppression, of hatred and of direct and inspired racist killings. We urge the international community to maintain existing sanctions against South Africa until the establishment of a free, non-racial, democratic and undivided South Africa. The international community cannot accept anything less.

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

The consensus Declaration adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session provides the framework for the peaceful elimination of apartheid and the resolution of the crises in southern Africa. Elsewhere in the region, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, we hope that the different groups involved in civil conflicts wil have recourse to negotiations, dialogue and other peaceful means in the resolution of their differences. We shall continue, as in the past, to play our part as peace-makers.

On Western Sahara, Nigeria notes with satisfaction the recent action by the Secretary-General and the Security Council. We welcome the adoption of the initial report of the Secretary-General on the proposed implementation of the joint OAU-United Nations proposal for the peaceful settlement of the crisis. We are prepared to play any suitable role in the proposed United Nations mission for the referendum in Western Sahara.

In other areas of conflict, such as Kampuchea, Central America and Afghanistan, Nigeria will continue to support and encourage regional and international efforts for attaining peace, security and stability.

Nigeria welcomed the recent meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two Koreas. We hope that such contacts will further advance efforts towards peaceful reunification. That is without prejudice to the desire of the Korean people for membership of the United Nations.

The question of a homeland for the Palestinians is at the heart of the Middle East problem. The Palestinians must be allowed to enjoy their right to self-determination.

The lessons of the past and the present show that, as Members of the United Nations committed to the maintenance of international peace and security, we should never be complacent. The struggle to achieve peace and security is a never-ending

(Mr. Aikhomu, Nigeria)

one. In spite of the gains resulting primarily from increased super-Power co-operation, recent events show that obstacles remain. This must compel us to be more vigilant.

Politics and economics are interwoven. It is therefore regrettable that the same concern and commitment in global political and security matters have not yet been extended to the economic well-being of most of the developing countries. Africa remains marginalized in the evolving world order. In spite of our best efforts at economic development, poverty has become more widespread in our continent. This, I believe, poses a threat to world peace and security.

None the less, as we peer into the future we are full of hope. We are confident that we shall reach our collective goal of a peaceful world devoid of man-made injustice. The Government and the people of Nigeria will not only dream, but will continue to work tirelessly for an Africa that is socially at peace, economically developed and politically plural and democratic. To achieve this we ask for the understanding and co-operation of the international community. Indeed, we ask for genuine partnership. We need partnership to uproot the scourge of apartheid and racism. We need partnership to eliminate and banish large-scale poverty and disease. We need partnership to check environmental degradation. We need partnership to promote respect for human rights in all their ramifications. And we need partnership to advance the process of political democratization on our continent. Above all, as Members of this Organization, we need to summon the political will to increase and sustain the commitment to a humane and just world economic order.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the statement he has just made.

Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. GUJRAL (India): It is with a deep sense of history that I address the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, the first since the end of the cold war.

The confidence we repose in Mr. Guido de Marco provides us with the assurance that this session, under his stewardship, will reach decisions that will strengthen global peace and co-operation and enhance global well-being. At the very outset let me say how happy I am that the Foreign Minister of the friendly, non-aligned State of Malta is presiding over this session.

I must also record our appreciation for the leadership displayed by Major-General Joseph Garba in presiding over the forty-fourth session.

I also join other Members of the United Nations in welcoming in our midst the newest Member of the United Nations, Liechtenstein. It gives us special joy also to see a united Yemen in our midst.

Forty-five years ago India was one of the relatively small number of States that were present at the creation of the United Nations. The United Nations was born of a war-shattered world's hope that it would be the benign, sometimes stern guardian of a world at peace, committed to peace and co-operation between nations. Unfortunately, the end of the Second World War did not bring peace; it brought a long, often icy, cold war. Scores of new nations in Asia and Africa emerged as sovereign States from the crumbling empires of Europe. The cold war had a negative impact on the life of those new nations. We in the so-called third world remained

(Mr. Gujral, India)

firmly committed to the United Nations as the only organization that could usher in a truly world-wide peace and promote global well-being. The vicissitudes through which the United Nations passed did not diminish our faith in the Organization.

We, the nations of the South, have special reason to rejoice at the end of the cold war. India is all the happier because from the very moment of its independence it sought to end the cold war. We joined other nations to enunciate the principles of non-alignment to protect the independence of new nations and their right to choose for themselves the kind of international relations they wished to have and the models of development they wished to adopt. We welcome the collapse of the cold-war divide. I trust that the cold-war mindframe which took deep root during the past 45 years will now yield to the new mindframe of global détente and co-operation.

An event of special importance in this context is the imminent unification of Germany. This will reflect the fulfilment of the deepest aspirations of the German people. In the new Europe which is emerging, a united Germany in the model foreseen by a great son of Germany, Thomas Mann, will be a powerful factor in favour of stability and peaceful co-operation. India looks forward to working closely with a united Germany in the cause of peace and progress around the world.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

India always rejected the logic of the cold war and the division of the international community into opposing blocs. In accordance with our policy of non-alignment, we sought to build up relations of trust and friendship simultaneously with both the Soviet Union and the United States. The replacement of East-West confrontation by a new co-operative approach has greatly facilitated our task. The past year has seen a further strengthening of our ties with the great democracy of the United States. With our time-tested friend, the Soviet Union, we are adding new dimensions to our friendly co-operation. We hail the historic endeavours of the Soviet people to reshape their political and economic structures on the basis of democracy, unity and economic efficiency.

The United Nations was a participant in many of the momentous changes during the year. Its work in Namibia and Nicaragua provided splendid examples of its role, testifying to its renewed relevance and effectiveness in international affairs. A great deal of the credit goes to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his patient, prudent, painstaking and imaginative management of the world body. We wish him and his colleagues continued success in their undertakings.

The Secretary-General perceptively observes in his report on the work of the Organization this year:

> "It has been a wholesome development of recent years that the international discourse has been disburdened of excessive ideological or rhetorical baggage. It is far easier to accommodate contentious interests or claims, honestly stated, than to reconcile opposing doctrines. If the new mood of pragmatism which has released us from the thraldom of the cold war is to spread all over the world, nations need to shed the vestigial prejudices of former times and couch their dialogue in terms of common sense and plain justice." (A/45/1, p. 34)

(Mr. Gujral, India)

These are truly wise words spoken at a critical turn of history.

India joins the many nations that now wish to see the United Nations emerge as the pivot and fulcrum of international peace and security. The new effectiveness of the United Nations owes a great deal to the fact that the earlier confrontational relationship between the great Powers gave way to détente, which in turn has led to a new collaborative relationship. A co-operative relationship among the major Powers is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for true multilateralism. The latter requires the full and equal participation of all nations - big and small - in the multilateral decision-making process. The great issues of the day can no longer be decided in the capitals of a few major Powers. The voice of the majority must not only be heard but also be respected. The democratic principle is an essential requirement of a genuinely multilateral system. Nor can the concerns of the deprived majority of the world's population be denied priority on the international agenda. The new political prestige of the United Nations must be complemented by increased efficacy in other areas, particularly in the economic field. Peace and development are closely interrelated and deserve equal attention. In the final analysis, the success of the United Nations will be measured in terms of its ability to reflect and meet the concerns of the majority of mankind.

India is gravely concerned at the crisis in the Gulf region. India's position was, and remains, clear and consistent. We are against the use or threat of force in the settlement of differences in inter-State relations. We firmly oppose aggression. The crisis has arisen from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. It follows that Iraq must withdraw its forces from Kuwait as demanded by the Security Council. India does not recognize Kuwait's annexation. Kuwait's independence and sovereignty must be restored. Any differences between the two neighbouring States must be resolved exclusively through peaceful means. India fully subscribes to and

(Mr. Gujral, India)

strictly abides by all the resolutions of the Security Council concerning this crisis. At the same time, we believe that all efforts must be made to achieve a peaceful political resolution of the crisis.

The current crisis has led to the induction of foreign forces into the Gulf region. In the changed world environment, a permanent foreign military presence is not desired by any country, nor would it be in anyone's interest.

For a very long time India has maintained the most cordial and friendly relations with Kuwait and Iraq. Almost 200,000 of our nationals who were present in these countries when the crisis erupted found themselves caught up in its coils. Provision of essential food supplies for these and other innocent victims from third countries is a matter of the highest importance, from the humanitarian point of view, to the entire world community.

In West Asia there can be no durable peace without a just and comprehensive settlement based on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, as well as the right of all States in the region, including Palestine and Israel, to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders, in accordance with United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel's attempts to suppress the intifadah or block progress towards a dialogue cannot succeed. A United Nations-sponsored international conference on the Middle East should be convened at an early date.

India reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Cyprus, part of whose country remains under foreign occupation. We fully support the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country. Obstacles have recently been thrown up in the way of the Secretary-General's efforts on Cyprus. The Secretary-General deserves the continuing and full support of the international community in his endeavours.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

Some of the most hopeful developments during the year relate to southern Africa. Earlier this year we warmly welcomed independent Namibia into this world body. Developments in South Africa hold out promise of real progress. Nelson Mandela, freed after a quarter of a century behind bars, galvanized the currents of peaceful change. We welcome the talks initiated between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government to clear the way for negotiations on a new non-racial constitution. We are concerned, however, at the continuing violence in the townships and the involvement of the South African security forces in the violence. The South African Government must urgently deal with the problem, in order to remove this threat to the process of peaceful change.

While racism is on the retreat in South Africa, in Fiji a constitution has been imposed which institutionalizes racial discrimination. The Suva régime flouts internationally accepted principles of democracy and human rights. Its undemocratic and racially discriminatory policies are unacceptable.

In the Korean peninsula there have been some encouraging signs of reconciliation and dialogue. We regard the recent historic meetings between the Prime Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea as a major step forward. We hope that this process will be further strengthened in future months. We support all efforts aimed at the peaceful reunification of Korea. In conformity with the principle of universality, we further support the aspirations of the Korean people to be represented in the United Nations so that they may actively contribute towards the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

There has been encouraging progress towards a resolution of the Cambodian problem. The recent Jakarta meeting and the decision on the Supreme National Council hold out the promise of an early return to normalcy. A settlement of the problem should fully reflect Cambodia's sovereignty and independence and ensure that its people can exercise their democratic right to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference and intervention. In this process the United Nations can and should play an important role.

Myanmar continues to held in thrall by forces unwilling to accept the decision that its people took in the national elections held there in May of this year. We call upon Yangon to accept the people's verdict and work with the latter to establish peace and democracy in that country.

Relations with our northern neighbour, the People's Republic of China, have shown a steady and welcome improvement. Both countries have expressed their determination to settle the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultations and also to develop relations actively in a variety of other fields. In the world where confrontation is giving way to co-operation, friendly co-operation between India and China is all the more important.

We have recently had the honour of receiving the President of Afghanistan in India. His presence in our midst reflected the common desire of both our countries to strengthen further the co-operative and friendly relations that have traditionally existed between them. We believe that full and faithful implementation of the Geneva Agreements so arduously constructed by the Secretary-General will restore normalcy, stabilize the life and security of the Afghan peoples and also help in furthering the cause of peace and good-neighbourliness in South Asia.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

We warmly welcome the return of democracy in our neighbouring country, Nepal. Differences that had earlier crept into our relations were happily and speedily resolved after the transition in Nepal, thus reflecting the deep aspirations of the two neighbours.

With the background of the improved inter-State relationships in South Asia, which have been universally welcomed, I would not have taken the time of this body to talk about the aberration pertaining to the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. In his address my worthy colleague the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has tried to provoke me into an exchange of polemics on issues that are patently internal to India. May I say I will not oblige him.

For more than 8 years now Pakistan has nursed and armed terroristic activities in the Indian State of Punjab. This has caused immense human suffering. Of late Pakistan has chosen to extend those practices to another State of India, Jammu and Kashmir, again resulting in extensive misery and loss of innocent lives. All efforts on our part to persuade the Government of Pakistan to desist from those activities were first ignored and then rejected. Characteristically, Pakistan denied responsibility and involvement in those acts. Now it is trying to justify them on the pretext of support to religious fundamentalism. This, representatives will agree, is against the established principles of international law and good-neighbourliness. The Indo-Pakistan Shimla Agreement signed in 1972 has fully spelled out those principles, and, despite Pakistan's blatant violation, India has continued its quest to build a wholesome relationship of cordiality and friendship that I know the people of our two countries need and desire.

The arms race, support of terrorism and aggressive polemics only add to tensions and create a climate of instability so much out of place in the contemporary global environment.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

We have recently proposed to Pakistan a set of measures that would induce confidence and co-operation. But, I say with sadness, Pakistan has chosen to ignore them and to persist in its unacceptable activities. Our two neighbouring countries can have a great future if we respect each other's integrity and unity, and once Pakistan desists from the temptation of interfering in our internal affairs. It is in this spirit that I will not refer to the gross flouting of human rights in Pakistan, particularly in Sind and Baluchistan. To cover up those inhuman acts a duly elected Government has recently been dismissed. But that is Pakistan's internal matter, even though democrats everywhere feel concerned.

We believe that regional organizations have acquired an added relevance and can play an important role in promoting international co-operation. In our region the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation is making a most valuable contribution by fostering a climate of constructive co-operation. We look forward to the steady expansion of its activities, and we do hope that in the coming days Afghanistan and a democratic Myanmar will join that organization to build an era so much needed in our part of the world.

The reordering of Eastern Europe is epoch making. India welcomes that reaffirmation of the democratic spirit. The changes in that region have understandably prompted the generous instincts of the industrialized world. We hope that Eastern Europe's integration into the world economy will serve the interests of all nations. We look forward to strengthening our ties of co-operation with those countries. At the same time we also expect that the East-West thaw will not result in depriving the developing world of augmented economic assistance.

We have yet to harness effectively the extraordinary opportunities for the success of disarmament efforts created by the sweeping political changes in Europe

(Mr. Gujral, India)

and in East-West relations. We look forward to the conclusion of a START treaty and an agreement on conventional forces in Europe by the end of this year, as promised. However, those agreements would not justify complacency on the part of the United Nations or international public opinion, as huge arsenals still remain. There is no underlying commitment to give up the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, and avenues for qualitative upgrading of nuclear weapons remain open. Nothing less than a time-bound programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons would sustain a continuous process of deep and substantial reduction until we get rid of the nuclear menace. We also need clear guarantees that the nuclear weapons that are phased out will not be replaced by new, advanced weapons.

With the end of the cold war we feel that now is the time - and a most opportune one - for the international community to question the validity of theories that seek to justify continuation of nuclear weapons. Inter-State relations should be based on co-operation and dialogue instead of mutual fears and frozen hostility. A new international security order needs to be created to prepare us to move towards a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world order outlined within a systematic, rational and practicable time-frame for achieving those objectives.

The positive developments during the past three years since the United Nations Conference on Disarmament and Development have only further vindicated the essential premises of that Conference. Now is the time for seriously exploring the actual ways and means of channelling the peace dividend for the development of the countries of the South that have had to face the adverse economic consequences of the cost of the unprecedented arms build-up in the past decades. The linkage between disarmament and development should remain in the focus of deliberations during the current session.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

Three immediate priorities during the coming year pertain to negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, the speedy conclusion of a chemical-weapons convention and the launching of the second phase of reductions in strategic arms with the purpose of eliminating whole classes of those weapons. All nuclear-weapon States must be involved in the negotiations for nuclear disarmament and should be prepared to undertake obligations now. The international community should call upon the nuclear-weapon States to abjure the use of nuclear weapons through an international accord on the non-use of those weapons. Those measures, if they are set in motion, would reflect the far-reaching changes in international relations.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

Economic growth during the last year has shown a mixed record. The expansion of world trade and output has begun to slow down. External and fiscal imbalances between the major economies have continued, aggravating the uncertainties that face the developing countries. Monetary instability and higher interest rates have added to the formidable economic problems of those countries. The international economic environment has remained inhospitable, as protectionism and discriminatory trade practices, inadequate financial flows, low commodity prices and exclusion from international economic decision-making have conspired to make developing countries insecure and vulnerable.

As I pointed out earlier, the Iraq-Kuwait crisis worsened this enfeeblement by raising oil prices, interrupting oil supplies and, in general, handicapping growth efforts.

While new problems have arisen, long-standing ones, like external debt, continue to constrain development prospects. Some welcome initiatives have been taken, but they do not appear to be commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. Difficulties of many other countries have been overlooked so far - pointing to the inescapable need for a comprehensive and durable solution to the debt problem. Such a solution must include anticipatory measures to prevent further proliferation of the problem to countries that, despite serious difficulties, are continuing to service their debts.

An international development strategy for the next decade is currently being formulated. This period will determine whether the world carries over into the twenty-first century the present legacy of poverty, underdevelopment and stagnation, or whether it embarks on a more productive era, aiming at qualitatively higher levels of human welfare, affording all countries and all peoples an equitable opportunity to prosper in a stable and predictable external environment. This guiding principle of international co-operation should underlie our efforts in

(Mr. Gujral, India)

all the sectoral areas of strategy. I hope that we shall be able to conclude negotiations quickly, so that the international community may have before it a coherent and identifiable framework of goals and objectives and a consistent set of policy measures to which all countries stand committed.

The North-South dialogue, once nurtured by the international community, has fallen into a state of neglect. It deserves to be revived. When political co-operation is on the upswing, why should economic co-operation languish? The head and the limbs have to function together if the body is to be strong. India has traditionally had the privilege, in this context, of working with other countries to make a North-South compact real and forceful.

South-South co-operation to build up collective self-reliance is an important aspect of international economic growth. The summit, in Kuala Lumpur in June this year, of 15 developing countries, including India, provided significant impetus to this process. Given the political will, much more is possible, and much more should be the aim.

We are now less than 60 days away from the conclusion of the Uruguay Round. A great deal of expectation has been aroused in these negotiations. We have been participating in good faith, in the hope that the conclusions will assist in the development of the developing countries. Despite very severe economic difficulties, many developing countries, including India, have made offers to the limit of their capability. These offers are not, however, being reciprocated - particularly the ones in respect of areas to which developing countries attach importance, such as textiles, agriculture, tropical products and safeguards. It is difficult to visualize a balanced outcome from the Uruguay Round without substantial progress in these and other areas that are of greatest concern to developing countries.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

Environmental concerns have - rightly - moved to the top of the international agenda. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, will be an event of great importance, focusing on the inescapable fact that protection of the environment requires acceleration of development in the poorer countries.

At the heart of the environmental crisis lies the persistence of wide disparities, in levels of production and consumption, between the developed and the developing countries. The very high per capita consumption levels in the industrialized world impose a corresponding strain on global natural resources and thus on the environment. On the other hand, extreme poverty in the developing countries is itself a cause of environmental degradation. In order simply to survive, poverty-stricken people are forced, for example, to cut down forests for firewood or to overgraze pastures.

In the developing countries the environment cannot be protected unless the root cause of its degradation - namely, poverty - is eradicated. Thus sustainable development calls for curbs on extravagant life-styles in affluent countries and for the promotion of economic development in less fortunate areas. I should like to add, as parenthesis, that the call for a change in life-styles in affluent societies does not imply a reduction in living standards - indeed, it envisages an improvement in the overall quality of life.

It is now accepted that environmental protection requires the provision of new and additional funds for developing countries, as well as the transfer of environmentally benign technology to these countries on a preferential basis. Any new environmental regulatory mechanisms should be accompanied, from the outset, by full and adequate provision for funding the technology transfer. This is an absolute requirement for effective action on the environment.

(Mr. Gujral, India)

In conclusion, I wish to say that the issues of today are of the utmost importance. We have left behind a long history and have crossed the threshold to another epoch. We have to put our heads and hearts together to design a world of peace and development. We have to fashion the United Nations to reflect the end of the cold war, making it responsive to the diversity of the world community, and representative of world democracy and the equality of sovereign nations. Let the new era usher in world peace and a global fabric of co-operation. Let us all work together towards that noble objective.

Mr. ADODO (Togo) (interpretation from French): In recent months the world has been stirred by uplifting events that give us grounds for believing that mankind has at last - and once and for all - entered a new era of détente and understanding. It seems that the coming together of East and West has ushered in a new order in which relations between nations will conform to a pattern of peace and co-operation. Walls have come down, borders have been opened, and peoples have been reunited and, together, are building a shared future.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The entire community of peoples has good reason to welcome this decisive development. It must also accept the fact that the certainties born of recent events may prove fragile and fleeting in the face of the dangers now mounting again and threatening the peace. Indeed, if we do not manage to prevent war and ease the suffering of the world's peoples, the technical achievements on which our century prides itself so much will be vain achievements, meaning that they are of no real use for our collective survival.

Before I continue, I should like to offer the President my own congratulations and those of the Togolese delegation on his election to preside over the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. His thorough knowledge of the issues which concern us and the constructive role his country plays in maintaining the peace both augur well for a successful outcome to our work.

In guiding the work of the forty-fourth session and the special sessions of the General Assembly on drugs, on apartheid and on international economic co-operation, his predecessor, Major-General Joseph Garba of Nigeria, carried out his task effectively and usefully, thanks to his highly developed sense of tact, his energy and his commitment. My delegation wishes to honour him as he deserves, in keeping with his outstanding talents.

We also wish to congratulate and thank the Secretary-General for the energetic way in which, with that calm, unshakeable confidence we so admire, he discharges his weighty responsibilities in the service of peace. Thanks to his determination and devotion, our Organization has had some remarkable successes and has regained the prestige and effectiveness it needs for its mission.

Likewise, we warmly welcome the Principality of Liechtenstein, whose admission to the United Nations enlarges the family circle and reinforces the universality of the Organization.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The progressive improvement in East-West relations can be seen today as a determining factor in the effort to establish a new world equilibrium. It has made possible a successful conclusion of the efforts to achieve reunification of the two Germanys, a historic example of the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

We pay a tribute to Germany, a country which has many ties of friendship and co-operation with my own, in the conviction that Germany must and will enhance the peace, stability and prosperity of the new Europe.

The continuing efforts of the two greatest Powers towards chemical and nuclear disarmament and the intensive negotiations within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) to achieve a balanced reduction of conventional forces in Europe and to develop confidence-building measures are undoubtedly essential factors helping to consolidate international peace and security. Also of great significance are the recent efforts to transform the two main military alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact, into instruments for dialogue and co-ordination today and for political co-operation tomorrow.

The movements for freedom and democracy arising in our societies are clear signs of a general realization that some development models and policies are bankrupt. This change must be organized and adapted to suit our needs and our real capabilities: the legitimate quest for freedom and democracy has become urgent everywhere, but it should not jeopardize the social cohesion and national unity of our countries. It is up to each nation, within the context of the internationally recognized requirements, to define the ways to ensure internal peace while participating in the effort to bring world peace.

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(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

By this I mean that building societies which are more democratic and which better respect fundamental human rights and freedoms should start not from the simple copying of foreign models but from the historical and socio-cultural realities of each State, that is to say, the special genius of each people. As the President of Togo, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, so rightly noted, in his speech of 20 June at the sixteenth Franco-African summit at La Baule, France:

> "We must keep in mind that no one can go against the will of the people, who are the sole custodians of power and on whom it is not possible, without risking failure, to impose a political system which runs counter to their deepest aspirations. For if any political option is to be viable and potentially successful, it must be grounded in the realities of each society and be integrated into the normal historical evolution of each country".

The end of the ideological confrontation between the great Powers does not signify by any means that peace has been achieved once and for all throughout the world. There are many hotbeds of tension still persisting everywhere.

In Liberia, in the very heart of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a tragedy which causes great concern to all is taking place. My country, for its part, has urged the belligerents to exercise the greatest possible restraint, and, in a moving appeal delivered on 23 August, called on them to agree to an early cease-fire, at the same time proposing that a special summit of ECOWAS should be called with a view to promoting a peaceful and lasting settlement to this fratricidal conflict and bringing about reconciliation of all of that country's sons.

The conflict in Western Sahara has been moving towards a fair and lasting settlement since both parties accepted the settlement plan put forward on 30 August 1988 by the Secretary-General. In this respect, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front must continue to co-operate closely with the United Nations

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with a view to establishing an effective cease-fire and holding the self-determination referendum.

The positive developments in the situation in South Africa are to some extent the result of the historic consensus reached by the international community at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the subject of Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The Declaration adopted by that important session embodies the categorical and unanimous rejection of apartheid and highlights the urgency of eradicating it once and for all.

Togo acclaims the far-sightedness and sense of responsibility of the decision by the African National Congress (ANC) to suspend the armed struggle. It also urges President De Klerk to take this historic opportunity to create conditions favouring a wide-ranging dialogue among all elements of South African society with a view to demolishing the apartheid system quickly and creating a democratic, non-racial society. If such conditions are to obtain, they must necessarily be preceded by the freeing of all political detainees and by an end to the violence blacks are suffering on a daily basis.

The accession of Namibia to independence and its admission to the United Nations were signs of the times showing once again that the United Nations had regained its prestige and effectiveness. That is why it is fitting to pay a particular tribute to the men and women who, by their courage, devotion and competence, made it possible for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to carry out its difficult mission successfully. Togo considers it an honour to have taken part in that mission and thereby demonstrated that it subscribes completely to the noble values and objectives which guide our Organization.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The involvement of the United Nations in settling the crisis in Central America is, to a great extent, the explanation for the progress made in applying the peace plan drawn up by the leaders of the region.

In the Gulf the international community is today confronted by serious breaches of the rules and principles on which the Charter is founded.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq constitute an act of aggression which must be condemned, not only because it contravenes international law but above all because it could once again lend respectability to violence and force as means of settling international disputes.

In adopting its resolutions on this subject, the Security Council has fully lived up to its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and has genuinely striven to ensure scrupulous respect for international law.

For that reason the Government of Togo fully endorses those resolutions and urges the Iraqi Government to withdraw its troops and to end the occupation and annexation of the sovereign State of Kuwait unconditionally. We call on all States in the region and outside it to spare no efforts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

With regard to the foreseeable disastrous consequences of this crisis for the economies of our countries as a result of large increases in oil prices it is vital for the international community, including both States and financial institutions, to do their utmost to shield the least developed countries from new financial constraints which would frustrate their development efforts and inflict shocks with incalculable consequences on their societies.

A lasting overall settlement of the Cambodian question is also an urgent task, whose accomplishment should be greatly facilitated by the improvement in East-West relations and the strengthening of confidence in the world Organization. Recent developments on this issue clearly indicate a heightened awareness of the need to end a conflict which has brought great suffering to the Cambodian people, a people which should now be able legitimately to exercise its right to self-determination.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

In Afghanistan, following the departure of foreign troops, the various parties will have to engage in negotiations in order to restore independence and unity to the Afghan people.

The merger of the two Yemens and the upcoming unification of the two Germanys should impress on the conscience of the world the vital need to rectify the mistakes of history by enabling divided peoples to re-establish their cultural and political identity within a homogeneous State structure.

This confirms the importance my Government attaches to the reunification of the two Koreas as a factor to promote stability in Asia and strengthen international peace and security. For that reason, my Government ardently hopes that the free-circulation experiment going on now between the two Koreas will be continued and will herald a genuine thawing in the relations between the two States.

The Organization has made tremendous efforts to end the conflict which has torn Lebanon apart for two decades. Restoration of peace to that country will require first and foremost the departure of all foreign forces, whose presence tends to promote the state of war.

In the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank the intransigent positions of the parties concerned continues to maintain a permanent atmosphere of violence. In this connection, we make a solemn appeal to all parties concerned to agree to the holding of an international conference under United Nations auspices.

The stability of the world depends not only on the improvement of international political relations. It now depends even more on a fairer sharing

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(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

of economic prosperity. The burden of the economic crisis by which the world has been beset for two decades is not borne equally by the wealthy and the poor countries. The confusion and disarray created by an anachronistic international economic system based, among other things, on rules that work to the exclusive advantage of the developed countries, are genuine obstacles to economic growth development in the developing countries.

It is important to note here the particularly critical situation of African countries which are hit even harder than others by the imbalances of the international economic system.

In order to escape from this state of profound crisis, the African countries have courageously undertaken reforms designed to establish the political and social conditions required for renewed economic growth through the use, among other things, of structural-adjustment programmes. However, their potential for success is often negated by the collapse of commodity prices and hence of export earnings, and also, most particularly, by the reduction in real terms of external financial imputs and the increasing burden of debt service.

It is vital for the international community as a whole to implement the recommendations of the last United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. It must strive to create an open and fair trading system, to support the least developed countries' efforts for diversification and economic modernization and to increase substantially the flows of financing to those countries.

We must urgently resume the North-South dialogue in a joint effort to find solutions to our common problems, particularly the decline of commodity prices, since a fair return for these products is indispensable for the survival of our economies. In this connection, I appeal to all to redouble their efforts to endow the Common Fund for commodities with the means it needs in order to operate

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

effectively. There must also be international action to apply a bold strategy to external debt, placing stress in particular on debt deferral, reduction of interest rates, extension of repayment deadlines and the granting of assistance consisting substantially of grants or interest-free loans.

The actions taken by certain donor countries to lighten the debt burden of the developing countries, particularly African countries, are praiseworthy and should be encouraged. The least developed countries require increased attention and assistance, in keeping with the Programme of Action adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held at Paris at the beginning of this month.

In this connection the intentions stated recently by the leaders of the seven most industrialized countries at Houston are particularly encouraging, and we hope that they will soon be translated into action.

The grave threats to mankind inherent in the accumulation of weapons of all kinds and in the continued existence of certain hotbeds of tension are compounded by the crucial problem of the rapid deterioration of the environment. The deterioration of the ozone layer, deforestation, desertification, marine and river pollution and air pollution have particularly destructive effects the environment all share. Today climates are unstable, the earth is warming up, and specialists predict future disasters resulting from the melting of the ice-cap, which would cause catastrophic flooding in coastal regions. The same experts also foresee famines and epidemics consequent on those atmospheric disruptions.

For that reason, the international community must act resolutely to prevent those evils. Togo attaches crucial importance to environmental problems and has taken measures to protect its fauna and its natural heritage. An environmental code has been adopted, and the Government is enforcing it very strictly.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

Working together, we have unquestionably made progress in solving some of the great issues of international life, but in order to ensure that this progress is irreversible and leads to the emergence of a world purged of fear, violence and injustice, it is essential that we should constantly strengthen our commitment to the United Nations. Nothing lasting has ever been achieved or can be built on the basis of mistrust or in an atmosphere of violence.

Genuine security will be established not through deterrence but through persuasion, and the only weapon for that purpose is dialogue, a dialogue based on the ideas and fundamental aspirations we hold in common, a dialogue aimed at building trust among peoples and peace among individuals. While it is true that nations are motivated only by their own interests, nevertheless today those interests are increasingly blended into one common objective, that of defending the principles we have set for ourselves, mindful of the shared destiny of peoples and individuals.

Today's events demand that we should reassess the beliefs underlying those principles and the determination with which each of us pursues them and strives to ensure that they are respected.

(Mr. Adodo, Togo)

The time has come to shoulder our common responsibility in solidarity. We must refuse to be part of the conspiracy of silence and commit ourselves to every struggle to protect mankind and its environment.

Only thus shall we have contributed to ensuring a better future for each person and for all of mankind.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with decision 34/401 of the General Assembly, statements made in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to apologize for speaking at this late hour. However, I find myself compelled to do so in reply to the United States representative. At the end of the meeting yesterday, in his reply to the Foreign Minister of Cuba, he reiterated United States claims to the effect that its forces entered the Arab Gulf region at the request of the Saudi Arabian régime. Can the United States representative make public the details of that alleged request or agreement?

The truth of the matter refutes such a claim. It is becoming clearer from one day to the next that the United States has occupied the Arab territories and the holy Islamic sites at nobody's request but its own and in response to nobody else's wishes and orders. It has done that in order to occupy the territories of other States in the region and thus control the oil fields and the destinies of the people of the region in line with its own unlawful interests and to serve the well-known interests and ambitions of the Zionist movement at the expense of the interests of the Arab people and the peoples of the region as a whole.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

The United States acts speak for themselves and reveal from one day to the next those aggressive objectives, foremost among which is the continued violation by the United States of the Security Council resolutions that the United States itself had formulated and imposed. The United States continues to prevent the delivery of foodstuffs and medical supplies to Iraq in contravention of those resolutions. It imposes a wholesale starvation embargo against the people of Iraq with a view to preventing them from exercising their right to life. This inhuman activity runs counter not only to Security Council resolutions, but also to the Charter and the noble aims for which it was drawn up. It is a clear act of aggression.

In committing such acts of aggression against the people of Iraq, the United States behaves from the position of the Power that has emerged victorious from the era of the Cold War. Hence it has the right to reap the fruits of its victory under cover of the so-called new international order. Such behaviour very clearly runs counter to the international consensus, that takes its point of departure from the hope that the post-Cold War era will be one of genuine international accord in which the principle of peace are to be consolidated side by side with the principle of justice.

Contrary to this, the United States, through its acts of aggression, selective policies and double-standards, aborts all such hopes and creates a new era in which the United States and its allies will have the upper hand, being the victors of the post-Cold War era. This will not serve the cause of peace and justice in any way or shape and will expose the peoples of the third world to grave dangers.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): The Foreign Minister of India made an eloquent and powerful statement of support for the United Nations. His appeal would assume greater credibility if it were backed by a strict adherence to the resolutions of the United Nations.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

Pakistan categorically denies any interference in the internal affairs of India. To lend substance to this assertion, Pakistan has proposed the stationing of impartial international observers to monitor, examine and investigate any accusations of interference. India has, regrettably, rejected this offer. Nevertheless, Pakistan continues to adhere to its principles, and it is hoped that in the ongoing bilateral discussions between the Foreign Secretaries of Pakistan and India some progress will be made in an understanding of this issue.

While pleading abstinence on commenting on the internal affairs of Pakistan, the Foreign Minister of India asserted that an elected government had been dismissed. Let me only state that the President of Pakistan acted strictly within the Constitution and that Pakistan has maintained the democratic process through elections that will take place within a month.

The Foreign Minister of India mentioned terrorism. This is in fact being practised in Kashmir by the Indian security forces. I do not want to go into details, which have been well documented by international agencies, such as Amnesty International. But there is one quotation from an Indian agency, called the Indian Human Rights Organization, which should suffice. I quote from its report:

> "The security forces are being used by the State as instruments of terror as part of a deliberate policy to terrorize the Kashmiri people into submission. It began with a crack-down on the militants and is fast becoming a policy of brutal suppression of the entire Kashmiri people. The people of the valley are now living under virtual military rule. There seems to be a deliberate attempt to make women the primary target of attack by the security forces. The manner in which searches and interrogations are conducted smacks of a planned strategy to break the morale of the people".

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

May I conclude by repeating what the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said in his statement to the Indian Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1947:

"The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future, or the will of the people."

Over the past four decades it should be quite clear to the international community which path the Indian leaders have decided to follow.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): I shall be brief. India's position on Jammu and Kashmir is well known and does not need repetition. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and shall continue to remain so despite all Pakistan's attempts at destabilization, involvement in terrorism and subversion.

However hard representatives of Pakistan might try to distort the facts, they will not succeed in misleading anyone here or public opinion even in their own country.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m